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The Washington Historical Quarterly

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

A CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF THE SITE OF CAMP WASHINGTON*

On the 28th day of October, 1908, the Washington State Historical Society, assisted by the Four Mound Grange, School Children and Friends, erected a massive granite monument on the south-eastern portion of Four Mound Prairie, which was to commemorate and point out to posterity the spot upon which was located Camp Washington, where Governor I. I. Stevens and his exploring and surveying parties camped from October 25th to 30th, 1853. The granite marker is located on the N. E. ¼, S. W. ¼, Section 4, Township 26 N., R. 40, E. W. M., and is on the farmstead of Mr. O. B. Gilstrap. It is situated in front of and to the right of the Four Mound Grange Hall and faces the farm residence of Mr. Gilstrap.

The Commemorative Exercises began at 11:30 o'clock on the morning of the 28th of October[1], just fifty-five years to the day from the time Governor Stevens and Captain McClellan were joined at the camp by Lieutenant Donelson with the main party of the eastern division of the survey[2], and was attended and witnessed by a large gathering of people. Among the persons present at that time were, the Hon. R. L. McCormick, President of the Washington State Historical Society; the Hon. Albert E. Mead, Governor of the State of Washington; Mr. Owen B. Gilstrap of Four Mound Prairie; Judge L. B. Nash; Colonel L. Febiger of the United States Army and Mr. W. H. Gilstrap, a cousin of Mr. Owen B. Gilstrap. Mr. W. H. Gilstrap gave the principal address of the day, in which he recounted historically the exploring and surveying expedition organized and sent out by the United States Government under the command of Isaac I. Stevens, and also set forth the

*This article was written as a partial fulfillment of a course of study in History Twenty-two, "Frontier History of the United States," at the State College of Washington during the Second Semester of the year 1915.—M. Orion Monroe.

[1]Washington State Historical Society, Publications, II, 132.

[2]Explorations for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific, 1853-56, XII, part 1, 149. Note: All subsequent citations to the volumes which comprise this work will be given as "Reports."

reasons why the Washington State Historical Society had agreed upon that particular spot as the ground upon which to locate the monument commemorating the site of Camp Washington.

The looseness of the work of the Historical Society in its efforts to locate the camp site together with the inconsistency of the arguments advanced by Mr. Gilstrap and a careful study of the evidence at hand concerning the proposition, leads us to believe that the granite slab erected by the Washington State Historical Society to commemorate the ground once occupied by Camp Washington has not been placed in the correct location. It seems that there has been some contention over the location of the monument for on page 232 of Volume II of the Washington State Historical Society Publications, Mr. Gilstrap makes the following statement:

"There are some points in history which historians, it seems, cannot agree upon. Some relate to the spots where historical events occurred, others relate to who were the principal characters. We do not propose to try to settle any of these debatable questions today; time will not permit us to enter into the discussion of any of them. However, my attention has been called to the fact that there are parties who contend that Camp Washington, where Generals Isaac I. Stevens and George B. McClellan, and their parties met and camped some two weeks in 1853; where Governor Stevens began and planned some of his work as Governor of Washington Territory, is not where the Historical Society erected a monument in 1908 to commemorate that great event.

"According to Governor Stevens' report his party went about eight miles beyond, or west of Spokane House to where there was plenty of water and grass, and six miles south of the winding ford on the Spokane River, which would make the spot at a small lake and spring on Four Mound Prairie. Indians who were there claim that was the place; they even go into details telling how the camp was laid off. Those who claim it was at another place, point out a spot fourteen or fifteen miles from Spokane House, and about nine miles from the winding ford. The former place is the only site in that neighborhood where there was plenty of both water and grass, which was necessary for the large party of both men and horses connected with the expedition."

The purpose of this article is to place before the public some facts concerning the matter and to prove that the site of Camp Washington was not where the marker erected by the Washington State Historical Society now indicates, but that the true site of the "First Capital of Washington Territory" is located in the forks of Coulee Creek, a branch of Deep Creek, and very near the center of Section 22, Township 26, N. R. 40, E. W. M., which is some six miles south-west of the location of the

granite slab on Four Mound Prairie. The writer's attention was first called to the possible error in the location of the camp Washington monument by Mr. Jacob A. Meyers of Meyers Falls, Washington. Mr. Meyers is a pioneer of Stevens County and a very close student of Northwest History and to him the writer is indebted for numerous photographs of the locality.

Mr. W. H. Gilstrap in his address at the exercises on Four Mound Prairie set forth some apparently good reasons for locating the monument on the spot the Historical Society placed it, but a careful reader of the "Reports of the Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-56" will notice that Mr. Gilstrap cited only such references as would allow the impression that the monument was being erected in the correct place. Even these references carry very little weight as far as locating the site of Camp Washington on Four Mound Prairie is concerned, as it is plainly evident that Mr. Gilstrap misinterpreted the records left by Governor Stevens and the members of his expedition. Mr. Gilstrap gave four reasons why the spot on Four Mound Prairie was selected, namely, that certain Indians, who claimed to have been present at the camp, said that the monument was being placed correctly; that Governor Stevens, in his reports, stated that the camp was located about eight and one-half miles beyond the Spokane House; and that the Governor also stated that it was located some six miles south of the winding ford on the Spokane River; and finally, that at the camp there was an abundance of grass and water, and that the spot on Four Mound Prairie abounded with these two necessities and furthermore, it was the only spot in that vicinity which did.

Mr. Gilstrap's first argument, which is his best, he states as follows:—

"Indians who were there claim that was the place; they even go into details telling how the camp was laid off".

This remark must be taken for what it is worth and no more, inasmuch as Mr. Gilstrap did not produce the names of any of the Indians, who were supposed to have been present at the camps some fifty-five years before, and consequently the reader is left in doubt as to the proof of the facts in the case. In considering the testimony of the Indians, we must remember that their minds are rather child-like and that they are easily influenced and consequently their word cannot be relied upon explicitly. Then to, it seems to be a trait of human nature for an individual to set forth the claim of having seen and talked to some great historical personage or witnessed some important historical event, and so, it is possible that the testimony of the Indians was entirely false, or it may be, that they were mistaken and confused in the time, the place, and the party, since sev-

eral parties had passed through that portion of the country during the period from 1840 to 1870.

Mr. Gilstrap insisted that Camp Washington was located some eight miles west of the Old Spokane House and he quotes the Stevens reports to that effect, but in no portion of the reports can a statement by Governor Stevens, Captain McClellan, Lieutenant Donelson or any other member of the party, be found, which expressly states that Camp Washington was located eight miles west of the ruins of the Spokane House. The records do show that the camp of the 17th of October was located some ten miles northwest of the Spokane House and this is the only camp of the Stevens Party which was situated within eleven miles of the Spokane House, but this camp was for one night only and in no portion of the writings was it ever mentioned as Camp Washington. There are many references[3] in the records which indicate that the site of Camp Washington was located twelve and one-half miles from the ruins of Spokane House, but no mention is made of "eight miles from Spokane House" when referring to Camp Washington. Even though the true location for Camp Washington were eight and one-half miles from the Spokane House, the granite marker erected by the Historical Society on Four Mound Prairie would be out of position, inasmuch as it stands only a distance of five and one-half miles from the ruins of Spokane House. In his speech, Secretary Gilstrap made the following quotation[4] from Governor Stevens' Reports:—

"October 17th, leaving camp, Antoine, Osgood, Stanley and myself, turned from the trail to visit the falls of the Coeur d'Alene River, while La Vatte took the train ahead to the Spokane House. The road to the Spokane House was over a sandy prairie, interspersed with groves of pine. Crossing a dividing ridge with high steep banks, we came into the prairie in which the Spokane House is situated, in which there are two Indian villages. The train we found a mile below the junction, across the Spokane. The Indians indicating a good camp some distance beyond, we moved on eight and one-half miles to it, which we reached a half hour before sun-down. Here there was good grass and plenty of water, and we soon made a large fire. After arranging matter in camp, I observed about night-fall a fire down towards the river, and, strolling down to the place, came upon a little band of Spokane Indians, * * * * * * * * * * *."

This is the particular reference upon which Secrtary Gilstrap based his assertion, that Camp Washington was located eight miles west of the Spokane House. Let us notice the distance. The ruins of the Spokane

[3]Reports, I, 66-68; 363-364; XII, part 1, 146; XI, map 3; and profile map, Fort Benton to Walla Walla; I, 270.
[4]Washington State Historical Society, Publications, II, 141.

House is located about three-quarters of a mile from the junction of the Spokane and Little Spokane rivers, and the Governor states that he overtook the train a mile below the junction, across the Spokane, and then moved on from that point eight and one-half miles to the camp. This would place the camp of October 17th, which was not Camp Washington, some ten and one-quarter miles from the Spokane House.

The next fact to be taken into consideration in taking up this particular reference, is, that in the early days the present Spokane River from Lake Coeur d'Alene to the junction of the Little Spokane River, was called Coeur d'Alene River, while the present Little Spokane River was known as the Spokane River, and General Stevens always designated them accordingly in his writings. Lieutenant Saxon was the only member of the party who indicated[5] the river above the junction with the Little Spokane as the Spokane. When Governor Stevens speaks of visiting the falls of the Coeur d'Alene River, he refers to the Spokane Falls, around which the present city of Spokane is located. Stevens speaks of reaching the Spokane House and of finding the train "a mile below the junction, across the Spokane". By the "junction," he means the junction of the present Spokane and Little Spokane rivers near the site of the Spokane House, and the "across the Spokane" refers to the fact that the train had crossed the Little Spokane River. Mr. Gilstrap would have us infer that Governor Stevens was referring to the present Spokane River, but such was not the case, and here at this point Secretary Gilstrap and the Historical Society clearly made a very serious misinterpretation.

When we take into consideration that Governor Stevens always referred to the Little Spokane River as the Spokane River and that when he departed from Father Gazzile and the Coeur d'Alene Mission on the 15th of October, he left with the express purpose of visiting Colville, we arrive at but one conclusion, and that is, that Stevens overtook the train after it had crossed the Little Spokane, about a mile below the junction of the rivers, and on the right bank of the Spokane. The party then moved on down the river eight and one-half miles and encamped for the night in the vicinity of the present village of Tum Tum. Common sense would have not allowed Stevens to cross the Spokane River and move over to Four Mound Prairie, for in doing so, he would have journeyed five or six miles out of his way, not to mention having to ascend and descend an elevation of nearly one thousand feet and making it necessary in moving on to Colville to recross the river next morning, which the Governor does not mention recrossing. Then too, there was a trail leading along the right bank of the Spokane, which branched across to the Chemakane

[5]Reports, I, 256.

through the hills near Tum Tum[6]. Again, Mr. Gilstrap quotes Stevens as follows:—

"After arranging matters in camp, I observed about nightfall a fire down *towards* the river, and strolling down to the place, came upon a little camp of Spokane Indians, * * * * * *."

Mr. Gilstrap has supplied the word "towards", as the original report[7] does not contain that word, but states:—

"* * * * *, I observed a fire down the river, and, strolling down to the place, came upon a little camp of Spokane Indians, * * * * * * * * * *."

If the word "towards" was intentionally supplied, the reason for so doing can be readily understood, inasmuch as, after traveling all day, a stroll of some five miles to and from the Spokane River with an elevation of nearly one thousand feet to overcome on the return, would have been a considerable distance, especially since the Governor and his party did not reach the camp until just a half an hour before sun-down.

There is little doubt but that the camp prepared by Governor Stevens and his party on the evening of October 17th, 1853, was located on the right bank of the Spokane River at a distance of about nine and one-half miles below the junctoin of the Little Spokane. And it is upon the location of this camp of the 17th, which as stated before was not Camp Washington, that Secretary Gilstrap and the State Historical Society base their claims for locating the Camp Washington monument on the farmstead of O. B. Gilstrap on Four Mound Prairie. The monument is located about seven and one-half miles south-east of the camp of the 17th. As further proof that the camp of October 17th was on the Spokane River, we have the report of Mr. Stanley, a portion of which reads as follows[8]:—

"October 18—Left our camp and the Spokane River at an early hour, and taking a more northerly course over a succession of pine clad hills, reached a valley from two to five miles broad, affording good grass and some arable land."

Their change of direction to a "more northerly course" in order to cross the succession of pine clad hills, which are situated just north of Tum Tum, indicates clearly that the party had been following the trail which led along the right bank of the river in a north-westerly direction. The final statement of the report by Mr. Stanley is:—

"Distance from *the camp on the Spokane* to Colville, sixty miles."

This fairly closes the point in question to any further argument.

Perhaps there are some who will argue that Governor Stevens estab-

[6]Reports, I, 368, line 41, and Mullan's map.
[7]Reports, XII, part 1, 136.
[8]Reports, I, 368, 369.

lished Camp Washington on the 17th of October and then on the following day made the hurried journey to Colville in order to meet Captain McClellan and his party. If the camp prepared on the evening on the 17th was a permanent camp, why did the Governor send the train on through to Colville? It could have been left at the camp as the information he received made it practically certain that it was Captain McClellan and his party that had reached the bank of the Columbia River, just opposite to Fort Colville. The Governor reached Colville at 9 o'clock in the evening of October 18th, and after conferring with Captain McClellan, he makes the following statement in his report[9]:—

"I accordingly resolved to bring the whole party together at a camp south of the Spokane River, * * * * * * * * * * * * *."

This was dated the 19th of October, apparently after the Governor had been in Colville some twelve or fourteen hours, and it is noticeable that he used the word "a" and not "the", which he would have done had he been speaking of a camp already established. Again on the 20th of October, Stevens states[10]:

"Garry started with a letter to Donelson, appointing as the place of meeting a valley south of the Spokane River, some ten or twelve miles south of the Spokane House. This spot is only a short distance off the trail leading from Walker and Eell's Mission to Walla Walla."

This statement refers to the true site of the camp, which was afterwards designated as "Camp Washington" or as it was called by some members of the party, "Camp Helse-de-lite"[11], and it shows that as late as October 20th, Governor Stevens had not viewed the camp site, in fact, he does not intimate that he even knows just exactly where it is, which is borne out by the fact that he placed the camp "ten or twelve miles south of the Spokane House" when the correct designation should have been ten or twelve miles south-west of the Spokane House.

A perusal of the Governor's writings will show that he and his party left Fort Colville on October 21st[12] and that they expected to reach the appointed place of meeting—Camp Washington—on the evening of October 24th[13], but were unable to do so, and encamped that night near the Chemakane Mission, where Governor Stevens and Captain McClellan laid plans to accompany Chief Garry to the Spokane House on the following day, for on the 25th of October, we have the following statement[14] by the Governor:—

9Reports, XII, part 1, 146.
10Reports, XII, part 1, 146.
11Reports, I, 386.
12Reports, XII, part 1, 147.
13Reports, XII, part 1, 147, 148.
14Reports, XII, part 1, 148.

"Having left the necessary directions for raising the camp and moving it to the place of meeting with Donelson, agreeable to the arrangement made yesterday, Captain McClellan and myself accompanied Garry to the Spokane House, hoping there to hear from Donelson. * * * * * * * * * * * * We then went to our *new* camp south of the Spokane, *which had been established whilst we were visiting Garry's place.*

Finally, if the camp established on the 17th day of October was Camp Washington, as claimed by Secretary Gilstrap, why should Governor Stevens, in speaking of the camp on the 25th day of October, designate it as a "new camp"?

Mr. Gilstrap's third argument, that Camp Washington was located, according to Governor Stevens' reports, some six miles south of the winding ford on the Spokane River, is approximately correct. The true site of the camp in question was located at a point six miles south-east (twenty-two and a half degrees east of south)[15] of the winding ford, which is located about a half mile above the Long Lake Canyon. We shall have more to say concerninig the location of this ford a little later.

The fourth point put forward by Mr. Gilstrap, which is concerning the abundance of water and grass, is stated as follows[16]:—

"According to Governor Stevens' report his party went about eight miles beyond or west of Spokane House to where there was plenty of water and grass, and six miles south of the winding ford on the Spokane River, which would make the spot at a small lake and spring on Four Mound Prairie. * * * * * * * * * * * * * The former place (Four Mound Prairie) is the only site in that neighborhood where there was plenty of both water and grass, which was necessary for the large party of both men and horses connected with the expedition."

To begin with, Mr. Gilstrap is referring to the camp of October 17th, the location of which we have established to be on the right bank of the Spokane River some ten and one-quarter miles from the Spokane House, and not on Four Mound Prairie as Mr. Gilstrap would have us believe. To be sure, Governor Stevens states that there was an abundance of grass and water here[17], but this was not Camp Washington. No mention is made in the reports of the camp of the 17th being six miles south of the winding ford on the Spokane River and it was not so located, as we have already shown, nor can a reference be found in which the site of Camp Washington is placed on a "small lake". No doubt there was plenty of water and grass at the spot on Four Mound Prairie in the year 1853, but Secretary Gilstrap is in error in stating that Four Mound Prairie was the only site in that neighborhood where there was a sufficiency of water

[15]Reports, XI, map 3.
[16]Washington State Historical Society, Publications, II, 233.
[17]Reports, XII, part 1, 136.

and grass for such an expedition. Notwithstanding the fact that there is no statement by Governor Stevens which explicitly says that there was a good supply of water and grass at the site of Camp Washington, which in itself only goes to show that Mr. Gilstrap erred in one of his most important arguments for placing the camp-site on Four Mound Prairie, it can be taken for granted that there was an abundance of both water and grass at Camp Washington, inasmuch as it was situated, as we shall show later, in the forks of Coulee Creek and we have the report of Engineer J. F. Minter which indicates that there was an ample supply of grass. The statement is as follows[18]:—

"October 26.—To camp Helse-de-lite [Camp Washington]. * * * * * * * * * *; camp in a deep and narrow valley, with *good grass on the plateau.*"

A visit to the true site of Camp Washington in the forks of Coulee Creek will show that there was a great abundance of both water and grass, sufficient for the needs of an adequate camp-site, especially when we remember that the party only remained five and one-half days at the camp.

This brings us to the final consideration of the granite marker erected by the Washington State Historical Society on Four Mound Prairie. On the face of the monument is the following inscription:—

COMMEMORATING THE ESTABLISHING
OF CAMP WASHINGTON
BY GOVERNOR ISAAC I. STEVENS
ON THE SITE
IN FRONT OF THIS MONUMENT
WHERE HE AND GEN'L THEN
CAPTAIN GEORGE B. McCLELLAN
AND THEIR MILITARY
AND ENGINEERING FORCES MET
AND CAMPED FROM
OCTOBER 17TH TO 30TH 1853
ERECTED BY THE
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ASSISTED BY THE FOUR MOUND
GRANGE SCHOOL CHILDREN
AND OTHER CITIZENS

[18]Reports, I, 386.

If we are to believe the evidence left us by the reports of Governor Stevens, Captain McClellan and other members of the Stevens party, as set forth in the "Reports of the Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-56." and it is needless to state that the above mentioned reports are authentic historical evidence concerning the subject in question, we have every possible reason to believe that the statement set forth on the face of the Four Mound Prairie Monument, that the Stevens Party met and camped at Camp Washington from October 17th to 30th, 1853, is absolutely false. The Governor, Captain McClellan and their parties met and camped at Camp Washington from October 25th to 30th, 1853. It is certainly clear that Governor Stevens and Captain McClellan were together at Fort Colville from the evening of the 18th day of October until the 21st day of the same month, Stevens leaving Colville on October 21st[19], and McClellan on October 22nd[20]. Camp Washington was not erected until October 25th, the Governor and Captain McClellan arriving at the camp, after their call with Garry at the Spokane House, on the evening of the same day[21]. Lieutenant Donelson and his party arrived at the camp on the 28th day of October[22]. From the Stevens Narrative of 1853, we have the following statement:—

"October 26, 27, 28, and 29—During these days I was occupied at our camp [Camp Washington] in making arrangements for moving westward."

Governor Stevens departed from Camp Washington at 4 o'clock on the afternoon of October 29th[23], and Captain McClellan left the following day, October 30th[24]. Thus the location of the monument was not the only mistake made by Secretary Gilstrap and the Washington State Historical Society in the exercises in commemoration of the establishment of Camp Washington, held on Four Mound Prairie on the 28th day of October, 1908. The error in the date of the camp was due to Mr. Gilstrap identifying the camp of October 17th with Camp Washington, but there is very little excuse for this mistake, as every point in question concerninig the date of Camp Washington is clearly set forth in the records, and the error in the location of the monument is just as absurd, for there is no reason to think that any of the parties mentioned, ever saw, much less camped upon, the spot upon which the monument is located, at the time mentioned.

19Reports, XII, part 1, 147.
20Reports, I, 199.
21Reports, XII, part 1, 148.
22Reports, XII, part 1, 149; I, 57.
23Reports, XII, part 1, 149.
24Reports, I, 199.

The site of Camp Washington is clearly described in several portions of the Stevens reports and by different members of the party, and by summing each and every statement concerning the description of the site of the camp, we are compelled to conclude that the official and true Camp Washington was located (1) some twelve and one-half miles south-west of the Spokane House[25], (2) six miles south-east of the winding ford on the Spokane River[26], (3) in the forks of a small stream[27], (4) in "a deep and narrow valley"[28], (5) and only "a short distance off the trail leading from Walker and Eel's Mission to Walla Walla"[29]. The winding ford on the Spokane River is just five miles south of the Chemakane Mission[30] and the trail leading from the ford to the camp site "passed one small lake on the left"[31]. This lake is evidently one of several small lakes located in Sections 9, 10, 15, and 16, Township 26, N. R. 40, E. W. M. The above description of the "First Capital of Washington Territory", from which no difference of opinion can be found among the statements of the members of the expedition, places the camp site in the forks of Coulee Creek, in a small valley near the center of Section 22, Township 26, N. R. 40, E. W. M.

Let us determine exactly why the above location, namely, the forks of Coulee Creek, fulfills all the descriptions for the location of the camp site. The first points to be taken into consideration are that the records show that Camp Washington was located at a point twelve and one-half miles from the Spokane House and six miles from the winding ford on the Spokane River. These two facts have been proven by the written reports and by Map No. 3, which is entltled, "Rocky Mountains to Puget Sound", from the Explorations and Surveys made under the Direction of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, by Isaac I. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory. There is a slight discrepancy in the written descriptions of the direction of the camp site from the Spokane House, inasmuch as the Governor designates that it is located "some ten or twelve miles south of the Spokane House"[32] and the spot in the forks of Coulee Creek is twelve and one-half miles south-west of Spokane House. This is due to the fact that the Governor gave this description of the location of the site while he was at Fort Colville, before he had ever seen the exact site of the camp and it is very probable that Stevens never made the trip between the Spokane House and Camp Washington. In his report[33] he tells of visiting Garry at Spokane House and then states:—

25Reports, XI, map 3; XII, part 1, 146; I, 67, 68, 69, 270, 363, 364.
26Reports, XI, map 3; XII, part 1, 148; I, 386.
27Reports, XI, map 3; I, 199, 363.
28Reports, I, 386.
29Reports, XII, part 1, 146.
30Reports, I, 386; XII, part 1, 148.
31Reports, I, 386.
32Reports, XII, part 1, 146.
33Reports, XII, part 1, 148.

"We then went to our new camp south of the Spokane, which had been erected whilst we were visiting Garry's place. From the Chemakane Mission the train [trail] left the river, and passing over a rolling country covered with open pine woods, in five miles reached the Spokane, and crossing it by a good and winding ford ascended the plain, and in six miles, the first two of which was through open pine, reached Camp Washington."

This might be interpreted to mean that Stevens and McClellan, after visiting Spokane House, retraced their steps and proceeded to Camp Washington via the winding ford. At least, the Governor says nothing of the trail from Spokane House to Camp Washington, and if the above is true, it can readily be understood how the Governor, in his description, might err in the direction of the camp from the Spokane House, his knowledge being based on information received at Colville. In Donelson's report there is a statement[34] which says:—

" * * * * * * * * * * . The main party crossing to the Spokane River, thence proceeded to a point twelve miles west, where we met yourself and Captain McClellan and his party."

This statement refers to Camp Washington and locates the site twelve miles from the crossing at the Spokane House, which was situated about one-half mile below the house.

Map No. 3 is probably the most authentic evidence we have concerninig the direction taken by the parties and the location of the different camps, being a recapitualtion of the work and travels of the engineers of the expedition, and was drawn after Donelson and party had made the survey from the Spokane House to the site of the camp. It shows the route from Chemakane Mission to the winding ford on the Spokane River to be 12 degrees west of south and a distance of five miles, which places the ford correctly, on the boundary line between Spokane and Lincoln counties and a half mile above the high, rocky bluff at the Long Lake Canyon. The ford at this place is the only point on the Spokane River in that vicinity where such a rocky bluff is located. From the report by Second Lieutenant J. K. Duncan, we have the following statement[35]:—

"From the mission the trail runs over a low hilly country, covered with open pine woods, to the Spokane River, leaving the Chemakane on the right. The descent to and the ascent from the Spokane River is abrupt and rocky. There is a tolerably good diagonal ford at this point—bottom gravelly and somewhat stony. The river is about seventy-five feet wide and three deep, current rapid. A very precipitous, high, rocky bluff is on the left bank, half a mile below the ford."

34Reports, I, 270.
35Reports, I, 216.

This description coincides exactly with the point mentioned above, which is just above the Washington Water Power Company's Dam at Long Lake, Washington. From the winding ford the trail to Camp Washington runs twenty-two and a half degrees east of south, a distance of six miles, and from the crossinig at Spokane House to the camp, the trail leads twenty-two and a half degrees (two points[36]) south of west, a distance of twelve miles. The above mentioned points can be shown by the use of a protractor and scale on Map No. 3, and if an up-to-date map of Spokane County is employed and the same directions followed, the same point is located, namely, the N. E. ¼, S. W.¼, Section 22, Township 26, N. R. 40, E. W. M.

The second point to be noticed is that the camp is located in the forks of Coulee Creek as shown by the Stevens Map No. 3, this alone being sufficient to locate the camp correctly even if there had been no written descriptions left concerning it, and the above mentioned point in Section 22 places it accordingly. The third point is that the written descriptions of the camp site place it in a valley. Assistant Engineer J. F. Minter in his report states that the camp was in "a deep and narrow valley", and he further substantiates this assertion by the statement[37]:—

"October30.—

To Sul-ilt-kwu. Ascended from the valley of our camp to the plateau."

Governor Stevens also describes the camp as being located in a valley south of the Spokane, and the forks of Coulee Creek being in a valley answers to this description. It is highly possible that Mr. Minter's description, "a deep and narrow valley," will convey to the reader the idea that Camp Washington was located in a canyon-like depression, but in all probability the representation is a trifle far-fetched. The valley in which the forks of Coulee Creek is located is not so very deep and canyon-like, but it does answer to the description of a valley and is a rather deep one when we take into consideration the contour of the surrounding country. The fourth point in the description of the location, places the camp "a short distance off the trail leading from Walker and Eell's Mission to Walla Walla". It is a difficult problem to exactly locate this old trail, but it is very probable that the Stevens party followed this trail in the journey from the Chemakane Mission to Camp Washington and from there on to Walla Walla. In several portions of the reports the word "trail" is employed in describing the road taken by the party. the Old Colville Wagon Road, which joined Fort Colville with Fort Walla Walla, followed the trail from Walker and Eell's Mission to Walla Walla and a glance at the map of the Colville Wagon Road and the road followed by the Stevens party will show that the two coincide very closely, especially

[36]Reports, I, 174.
[37]Reports, I, 386.

in the vicinity of Camp Washington. An inspection of the ground about the forks of Coulee Creek will show very clearly the remains of an old road or trail, which leads down the slope from the north-west and crosses the creek about two hundred and fifty yards below the camp site.

As further proof that the spot in the forks of Coulee Creek is the correct location for the site of Camp Washington, we have the following notation[38] from the reports of J. F. Minter:—

"October 30.—To Sul-ilt-kwu. Ascended from the valley of our camp to the plateau. Pass over a high rolling country, with occasional ravines and narrow strips of pine timber. Cross a deep and boggy stream * * * * * * * * * * 5½."

The figures 5½ designate that the stream crossed was a distance of five and one-half miles from Camp Washington. The stream referred to is the north fork of Deep Creek, which they would cross after covering a distance of five and one-half miles, their direction being slightly west of south[39]. If Camp Washington had been located on Four Mound Prairie, the first stream to be forded would have been Coulee Creek, which they would have reached after having traveled a distance of two miles. Deep Creek would have been crossed after journeying four and one-half miles further. But notice the very next statement of Mr. Minter—

"Travel over a perfectly open and slightly rolling country; pass over rocky ridge near camp; camp on a small running stream, with good grass and poor wood * * * * * * * * * * 2½."

This locates Camp Sul-ilt-kwu, which was erected on the evening of October 30th, on the south fork of Deep Creek, which by the trail and map is just two and one-half miles south of the north fork. The Stevens Map No. 3 shows the camp of the 30th to be on the south fork of Deep Creek, although there is a mistake in the direction of the main body of Deep Creek, which was due to false information received from Spokane Garry[40]. This discrepancy in the direction of the main body of Deep Creek as shown on the map only serves to prove that Camp Washington was not located on Four Mound Prairie, for if it had been so situated, the parties in moving south would have probably crossed the main stream of Deep Creek instead of the forks, and consequently the correct location of Deep Creek would have been ascertained. Secretary Gilstrap and the State Historical Society admit that the camp of October 30th, Camp Sul-ilt-kwu, was on the south fork of Deep Creek, and their map on the back page of the program of the Commemorative Exercises shows the camp so situated, but Mr. Gilstrap does not explain how Engineer Minter, in

[38]Reports, I, 386.
[39]Reports, XI, map 3.
[40]Reports, XII, part 1, 150.

traveling south from Four Mound Prairie, could cross Coulee Creek without making a note of it in his journal.

The map of the region around Camp Washington, which is incorporated in the program of the Exercises, is a very mistaken affair even to the point of being ridiculous. In the first place, it is drawn, so it states, to the scale of one-fourth of a mile to the inch, and accordingly "Camp Washington" is shown located a bare one-quarter of a mile from the Spokane House and a trifle better than a quarter of a mile from the ford on the Spokane River. Such a discrepancy only serves to exhibit the carelessness with which Mr. Gilstrap and the Historical Society handled the entire proposition. The map shows the ford on the Spokane far from being in the correct location being situated about fives miles up the river from the true winding ford at Long Lake, this being done in order to show the site on Four Mound Prairie a distance of six miles from the ford, the effect being lost, however, on account of the mistake in the scale. Another very peculiar mistake is the indicating of the route taken by Lieutenant Donelson and his party in reaching Camp Washington. According to Secretary Gilstrap, Lieutenant Donelson and his party in journeying down from Clark's Fork and the Pend d'Oreille, crossed the Spokane at a point above the mouth of Latah Creek and then followed along the left side of the river. One naturally wonders why such a mistake could be made, especially when the map and written reports by Lieutenant Donelson show his route from Lake Pend d'Orielle to be along the right side of the Spokane River until he crossed the river at the ford near the Spokane House, the ford being just below the junction with the little Spokane River, but a careful study of the situation at hand will show the reason why Secretary Gilstrap wished to have Donelson's route to the camp follow down the left bank of the Spokane, and his camp of the 17th of October at the junction of Latah Creek, instead of on the right bank of the Spokane in the Spokane Valley, as shown by the map[41]. The mouth of Latah Creek is about a mile and three-quarters south-west of the site of Donelson's camp of the 27th.

We know that Lieutenant Donelson and his party were, at this time, at work making a odometer and barometer railroad reconnaissance, and in the course of his work and under orders from Governor Stevens, he effected a junction with the Governor and Captain McClellan and their parties at Camp Washington on October 28th, 1853. From the report of Lieutenant Donelson, in an estimate on a permanent wagon road from Fort Benton across the Rocky Mouutains to Walla Walla, we have the following statement[42]:—

41Reports, XI, map 3.
42Reports, I, 363, 364.

"113th day.—They go nineteen and a half miles and encamp on the Coeur d'Alene prairie.

"116th day.—They go nineteen and a half miles, cross the Spokane, and encamp on its left bank.

"117th day.—The wagons go 12.5 miles and encamp on a small stream in the prairie."

Turning to the next page, page 364, we find the following:—

" * * * * * * * *; 8 days to open the road to the Couer d'Alene prairie, 3 days to prepare the road as far as the crossing of the Spokane.

"116th day.—To prepare the road as far as Camp Washington.

"117th day.—8 hours' work."

In considering these two references, we must bear in mind that the Donelson party had no wagons after they left Fort Benton[43], in fact this entire report by Lienteuant Donelson is hypothetical in nature, as shown by the statement at the beginning of the report:—

"The report is in the form of a narrative of the supposed daily progress of the wagons; an accompanying table exhibits the quantity and kind of work, and the time required for its performance."

In other words, Lieutenant Donelson and his party made a preliminary survey of the wagon road and stated his reports in terms of what the party building the road would have to do. The two extracts from the report signify that on the 113th day from the time the party is supposed to have left Fort Benton, they would move nineteen and a half miles and encamp on the Coeur d'Alene prairie, i. e., the Spokane Valley, some nineteen and a half miles from the crossing of the Spokane River, and then for three days they would labor preparing the road to the crossing, and on the 116th day, they would move on nineteen and a half miles, cross the Spokane River and encamp on its left bank. In order to interpret this correctly, we must bear in mind that Lieutenant Donelson traveled the route of the road, and, as stated before, the map shows that Donelson crossed the Spokane River at the Spokane House and this agrees with the written matter, for Donelson stated that on the next day, 117th day, they would move the wagons 12.5 miles and encamp on a small stream in the prairie, which would be the site of Camp Washington. Undoubtedly the spot referred to would be Camp Washington, for in the second extract, Donelson states that on the 116th day they would prepare the road as far as Camp Washington, while the camp and wagons are to be moved over on the 117th day, the camp and wagons always being moved after each new portion of the road has been completed.

The writer takes it, that the reason Secretary Gilstrap placed Donelson's camp of October 27th on the left bank of the Spokane at the mouth

[43]Reports, I, 27, 38, 78.

of Latah Creek, was due to the fact, that, inasmuch as Lieutenant Donelson had plainly stated that from the camp of the 116th day, which would be situated near the ford on the left bank of the Spokane River below and acros from the ruins of Spokane House, they would move on 12.5 miles to Camp Washington, and since the supposed site at Four Mound Prairie would be only four miles from the camp, if the camp was located on the left bank of the Spokane across from Spokane House, it became necessary, in order to gain his point, to place the camp at the mouth of Latah Creek, which is a distance of twelve miles or better from the site of the monument on Four Mound Prairie. To build a road from the mouth of Latah Creek along the left side of the Spokane River to Four Mound Prairie in one day, would have been a wonderful engineering feat, since they would have had to overcome a continual series of ravines and gullies. When we remember the trouble the Great Northern Railroad experienced in forcing an opening through that particular locality, we are forced to say that it would have been a blot on the engineering ability of Lieutenant Donelson, had he outlined the road along that same route. It is also interesting to note that the camp of the 116th day, which was a hypothetical one, had nothing to do with the Donelson camp of October 27th, and that the mouth of Latah Creek is seventeen or eighteen miles from the point in the forks of Coulee Creek.

Should anyone doubt that Lieutenant Donelson did go to the Spokane House, a perusal of pages 55 and 63 of Volume I of the Reports will put all such doubts to flight, especially when it is remembered that the expedition was of a military nature and moved under military orders. On page 55 we have an extract from the report by Governor Stevens, which reads:—

"To guard against Captain McClellan passing us, Lieutenant Donelson was instructed to send Lieutenant Arnold to Colville from the crossing of Clark's fork by the northern trail, and to repair to the Spokane House, on the Spokane River, to receive additional instructions."

On page 63 we find Order No. 3, dated from the Flathead Village of St. Marys, on the 2nd of October and addressed to Lieutenant Donelson. A portion of the order reads:—

"Your general course will be by the Jocko River to the Clark's fork of the Columbia, thence to where the fork was crossed by Lieutenant Saxon, or some practical route between Clark's fork and the Kootenaies River, and thence to the Spokane House, at the *crossing of the Spokane River.* * * * * * * The Spokane crossing, near the Spokane House, is a central position, trains [trails] leading therefrom both to Colville and Walla Walla. At the crossing you may expect intelligence of Captain McCellan's movements, and additional instructions either from Captain McClellan or myself."

These orders were not changed for we have an extract, which has already been quoted in this article, from the report of Lieutenant Donelson, which reads:—

"The main party crossing to the Spokane River, thence proceeded to a point twelve miles west, where we met yourself and Captain McClellan and his party.

"Here terminated the operations directed in your instructions to me on the 2d day of October."

On the 25th day of October the Governor and Captain McClellan made the trip to the Spokane House from their camp on the Chemakane, hoping to hear from Lieutenant Donelson[44].

Let us now compare the site in the forks of Coulee Creek with the spot upon which the monument is located on Four Mound Prairie in the light of the evidence at hand. It has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the true site of Camp Washington was located at a point twelve and one-half miles south-west of the winding ford on the Spokane River, and the spot in the forks of Coulee Creek satisfactorily fulfills this description, while the point of Four Mound Prairie is about five miles from the ruins of Spokane House and some nine and one-half miles south-east of the winding ford on the Spokane. The reports show that Camp Washington was situated in a valley and the forks of Coulee Creek are so located, while the monument at Four Mound Prairie stands on a small knoll in the flat, open prairie. Governor Stevens stated that the camp was located a short distance off the trail leading from Walker and Eell's Mission to Walla Walla. Secretary Gilstrap brought forth no evidence which would show that the trail leading from Walker and Eell's Mission to Walla Walla passed across Four Mound Prairie near the site of the mounment, while we have every reason to believe that the Walker and Eell's Mission Trail crossed Coulee Creek at a point about two hundred and fifty yards from the site, namely, a spot in the forks of said Coulee Creek, in a small valley in the N. E. ¼, S. W. ¼, Section 22, Township 26, N. R. 40, E. W. M.

Taking everything into consideration, it seems quite clear that the Washington State Historical Society located its marker and fixed the dates in the inscription without adequate study of the historical documents or wise interpretation of the material at hand. It has been eight years this October (1915) since the monument was erected on Four Mound Prairie, and it appears only right and proper that the Historical Society should reopen the question and take immediate steps to have the present slab removed and another stone, suitably and rightly inscribed, erected on the correct location, in order that the site of the "First Capital" of our Great Commonwealth may be located and set right for all time.

M. ORION MONROE.

[44]Reports, XII, part 1, 148.

MARINE DISASTERS OF THE ALASKA ROUTE

The thousand mile long channel extending north from Seattle to Skagway, Alaska, with its by-ways among the islands, constitutes an unique waterway, like to none other in the world. The story of the casualties that have happened to the fleet that has been plying on this course for over half a century is a long one. It begins in Russian days, and even before the Muscovite had made his settlement on the Alaskan Islands. The way as traced today has names that recall Vancouver, Quadra, Gray, Butterworth, Valdes, Caamano, and others, all of whom helped to trace out this intricate maze.

The first account of a marine accident comes to us from the pages of Vancouver[1] when in August, 1792, surveying the unknown waters of Queen Charlotte Sound, he says, "we suddenly grounded on a bed of sunken rocks about four in the afternoon." The "Discovery" had struck an unknown rock, and the ship had little more than extricated itself from its unfortunate position than the hidden dangers arrested the progress of the "Chatham." Thus began the long line of accidents, some of them disasters, that have marked the coast with wrecks. While all have not been so fortunate as Vancouver in saving their vessels, the loss of life has been remarkably small when the stretch of coast without a lifesaving station is considered.

As late as 1897 the farthest north light-house to shed its beams across the way was situated on Entrance Island at Nanaimo Bay, on the Gulf of Georgia. The first light-houses to be established in Alaskan waters were those at Five Fingers in Stephens Passage and Sentinel Island, Lynn Canal, both in the year 1902.[2]

For more than fifty years before the first light-house was constructed in Alaska the steamers of Russia and of Great Britain had been conducting their traffic on the route. The Hudson's Bay Company's boats, the "Beaver," "Otter,"[3] and "Labouchere," went on their company's busi-

1Vancouver's Voyages, 1901 Ed., Vol. 2, pp. 209, et seq.

2Light List Pacific Coast, U. S. Govt. Ptg. Ofc., 1914.
The Russians maintained a light in the cupola at top of the Baranof Castle, during many years. When the United States assumed control the Collector requested an allowance to maintain a light, and the request was answered by the Collector being appointed as Superintendent of Lights for the Territory of Alaska, Nov. 11, 1868. A soldier was detailed to keep the light burning, for which an allowance of 40c per diem was paid. This was the first light in Alaskan waters under the United States rule. See Customs Records of Alaska, Letters.
This service was probably discontinued with the withdrawal of the Military from Alaska, for, in 1878, the Special Agent for the District reports "there is not a single lighthouse in the whole district." Report Wm. Gouverneur Morris, 1879, Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 59, 45th Cong., 3rd Sess., pg. 20.

3The H. B. Co.'s boats had several minor accidents and in 1880 the Otter struck a rock near Bella Coola, and sank, but was afterward raised and again put into service.
See Lewis & Dryden's History, page 46.

ness, and, though they met with some accidents, were attended with general good fortune, but as much cannot be said for their neighbor in the fur trade, the Russian American Company. We find their steamer, the "Nikolai I," a total loss near Kake Village in 1861, and the crew owed their lives to the good offices of the natives who saved and entertained them until a vessel arrived from Sitka.[3½]

The transfer to the United States had scarcely been consummated until the list of losses of American vessels began. The schooner "Growler" was one of the first vessels to reach Sitka, having on board H. M. Hutchinson who purchased the property of the American Company at Sitka. She returned to Victoria and in the Spring of 1868 outfitted for sealing on the Pribylof Islands, sailed by way of the Queen Charlotte Sound and was lost at sea with all on board. Her wreckage and the bodies of some of her crew drifted ashore on the south end of Prince of Wales Island and that is all that tells the story of her fate.[4]

November 25th, 1868, the American schooner "Thomas Woodward" was one of the first victims of the dangerous shoals of Point Mudge. She was under charter to the Quartermaster's Department of the U. S. Army and was laden with stores for the post at Sitka.[5] The vessel was a total loss but a portion of the supplies were saved and were carried forward by the Br. Str. "Otter" to their destination. Other disasters overtook the transports of the War Department, for on February 16th, 1874, the Schooner "Margaret," sailing from Sitka for the San Juan Islands, was driven ashore near the Kake Village with complete loss of the vessel. The Indians followed the ancient law of the beachcombers and pillaged the cargo.[6] The U. S. Transport "Newbern" on leaving Wrangell on a stormy fall night in 1869, in Clarence Strait, struck an uncharted rock, tore away her keel, sustaining damages that required her being beached for repairs.[7]

To attempt to chronicle the number of vessels that struck on reefs with more or less damage would be an endless task and in this article only the more important will be noted. The charts used in those years were the ones based upon the surveys of Vancouver in 1793 and 1794, with additions made by British, Russian and American navigators. A ship generally carried all she could secure of each, and then was poorly

3½Alaska and its Resources, 1870, by Wm. H. Dall, pg. 349.
4The Seattle Intelligencer, May 4, 1868, May 18, 1868, and May 29th, 1868.
Lewis & Dryden's History, pg. 168.
5Seattle Intelligencer, December 14th, 1868.
Report to Treasury Department of Coll. Customs of Alaska of December 16th, 1868.
6Report of Coll. of Customs, Alaska, May 24th, 1874.
7Report Special Agent, Wm. Gouverneur Morris, pg. 55-6.

equipped.[8] The revenue steamers "Wayanda" and "Lincoln" seldom made a cruise to Alaska without striking a rock. The Treasury Agent Morris says in 1879: "The U. S. S. 'Saginaw' struck several times while in Alaskan waters. The Alert, an English man-of-war, struck going into Sitka Harbor. The schooner Roscoe, in going to Klawack, struck an unknown ledge and came near being a total loss. The schooner 'Northwestern' struck a rock in Clarence Straits and was beached to save the lives of passengers and crew. The schooner 'Louise Downs,' in Lynn Canal shared a similar fate. The schooner 'Langley' struck a reef in Chatham Straits and was a total loss."[9] These were before the days of making wreck reports in Alaska and the records of the Custom Office do not record them.

The U. S. S. Suwanee was lost on a sunken rock at the entrance to Queen Charlotte Sound, July 9, 1868, with great loss of life.[10]

The first serious wreck along this coast, with great loss of life, was that of the Str. "Geo. S. Wright," and all those who were in Oregon or Washington in 1873 will remember the weeks of waiting and the thrill of horror that went over the coast when day after day passed and no news came from the vessel. The last that was known of her was that she cleared from Sitka on January 20th of that year with officers of the garrison and other passengers. All that was known of her fate was the wreckage that strewed the shores from Queen Charlotte Sound to Prince of Wales Island, and the body of Paymaster Walker, U. S. A., that drifted ashore at Port Bazan, on Dall Island. To the natural terrors of the situation was added the report that the passengers had been captured and tortured by the Hydah Indians, but this last is probably without any foundation whatever.[11]

In 1875 the U. S. S. Saranac struck the sunken rock in Seymour Narrows, was barely beached and the crew and provisions and ship's papers ashore when she slid off into deep water and sank out of sight.[12] These Narrows claimed another boat in April, 1883, when the Br. Steamer Grappler, trading on the coast, took fire on entering, the tiller ropes burned,

[8]Id., pg. 55. He says: 'The want of reliable charts is the great drawback to Alaskan navigation. From the boundary line north, Cape Fox, to the head of inland navigation, including the coast to Bering Bay (Yakutat) the Russian and American charts are entirely unreliable. The English have published no charts north of 54 40'."

Also says: 'Even the best pilots in these waters are continually finding unknown rocks, and if a man goes a few feet out of the track he is liable to fetch up."

What he says is still applicable, as a proof note the Mariposa of July 16th, 1915, the California, on Aug. 17, 1913, the Curaco, on June 21st, 1913, etc.

[9]Id., pg. 56.

[10]Seattle Intelligencer, July 20th, 1868, also July 27th, 1868.

[11]Daily Morning Call, San Francisco, Cal., April 23rd, 1877. Seattle Intelligencer, March 3rd and March 24th, 1873. The body of Paymaster Walker was taken to Portland, Or., for burial, on the Rev. Cutter Wolcott, in 1875. See the report of J. G. Swan, Commr. for Centennial Exhibit from Alaska, Appendix to Morris' Report, pg. 148.

[12]Daily Morning Call, S. F., Cal., June 22, 1875.

the boats swamped, and the passengers were driven overboard only to sink in the swirling waters.[13]

Sept. 13th, 1886, the Str. *Ancon* struck the rock at the entrance to Glacier Bay that is since known as Ancon Rock, off Point Gustavus, and was only saved from sinking by the empty salmon barrels stowed in her hold.[14] She was kept afloat by them until she reached shore where she was beached. The respite of the Ancon was brief, for August 28th, 1889, she went on a rock in Naha Bay, at Loring, and her wreckage may yet be seen on the rock at low tide.[15]

The number of boats that plied on the Inside Passage to Alaska were few in the earlier years. During the first years of American Occupation the steamers went from San Francisco. Then for a period of nearly ten years Portland was the point of departure for Sitka and once in a month was the time for a trip. During the eighties the route was changed to Seattle and the service increased to twice a month in summer and this service continued with little change until 1897, when the gold rush to the Klondike brought numbers of ships of every description on the run and with an increased number of casualties. Considering the number of boats, their condition, and the lack of aids to navigation, it is only a source of wonder that the marine disasters were not more in number during the closing years of the century.[16]

Scarcely had the first ships unladen at the new ports at the head of Lynn Canal, when the S. S. "Mexico," on her way south, passing from Clarence Straits through Dixon's Entrance, struck an uncharted rock in the open sea. The passengers, hand baggage, and the mail were hurriedly

[13]Appleton's Guide to Alaska, 1898, by E. R. Scidmore, pg. 22.

[14]The Sitka Alaskan, September 18th, and October 2, 1886.

[15]Seattle Post-Intelligencer of September 5, 1889, says "early morning of Wednesday, August 28th," with 111 passengers and 15,000 cases of salmon.

[16]In 1867, the Str. John L. Stephens ran to Alaska from San Francisco and was present at the transfer of the Territory. In 1868 the "California" came on the run in March and made monthly trips. The Str. Geo. S. Wright made one trip in July. In 1869 the Str. "Youkon" entered April 26th, from San Francisco. The Br. Str. "Otter" made regular trips from Victoria to Wrangell via Sitka, commencing in 1867. The U. S. Transport Newbern made trips to Sitka and other Army posts in 1869 and other years. The Am. Str. "Active" came in 1869, with the party of Secretary Seward. In 1869 the California and the Geo. S. Wright came from Portland, Or., and the same year the Str. Constantine made trips from Portland. The Gussie Telfair came to the run in Sept., 1871, and the Str. Idaho, in 1872. The Str. Los Angeles made a trip in 1881, and the Eureka cleared on April 26th, and on the margin is the note "wrecked near Peril Straits." In 1884 the "Ancon" came as an excursion boat under Captain Carroll and made three trips during the year. The "Olympian" came 7 trips in 1887, and in 1888 the Idaho and the Ancon alternated in trips, both being on the run, and the Geo. W. Elder made four trips during the year. This year initiated the semi-monthly service. In 1889 the City of Topeka entered the Alaska trade, and in 1890 the Santa Cruz appears and also the Jeanie, as well as the Queen and the Mexico, the Queen being on the tourist run. The route was changed from Portland to the Puget Sound about 1886.

In the earlier years all boats went outside Cape Ommaney, to Sitka, and only small vessels used Wrangell Strait, but in 1884 Captain Coughlin, U. S. N., surveyed and buoyed the channel and it was used from that time forward. See E. R. Scidmore, Alaska Guide 1898, page 73.

transferred to the ship's boats, and a few minutes later she sank. All of the crew and passengers safely landed at Port Chester, on Anette Island.

The winter of 1897-8 every vessel that had been lying in the harbors and waterways of the Pacific coast was renovated and put in the Alaska trade. Old hulks that had not seen service for years were repaired and sent out to the north. Forty-four different vessels entered the port of Skagway during th month of February, 1898.[17] Of this fleet the Corona was one of the first to meet misfortune, but she was in a position to escape with no loss of life and was afterward raised and taken south. Not so fortunate was the "Clara Nevada." Leaving Dyea on a stormy night, February 5th, she was seen from Berner's Bay to be on fire and soon after an explosion occurred and the lights went out. Boats attempted to set out from Seward City to go to her assistance but the winds of Lynn Canal drove them back. The next day the Str. Rustler set out from Juneau to search for the survivors, but of the crew of 28 men and of all the passengers on board the lost steamer, the number unknown, but one body, that of Purser Beck, was found. The wreck lay on the reef of Eldred Rock, the spars above water at low tide, and a gaping hole confirmed the story of the explosition told by those who witnessed the fire from Berner's Bay.[18] In this month the Oregon was blown ashore at Juneau and when the tide receded she was left on shore dry to her very keel. On the 19th the Bark "Canada" went on a rock four miles below Skagway, and when the tide fell the vessel heeled over until the horses on board had to be shot to end their misery. The Str. "Whitelaw" took fire in the harbor at Skagway on March 4th, went ashore with the wind and burned with a loss of $75,000.00 in ship and cargo. On April 11, the Am. Bk. "Mercury" was driven ashore at the same place and so badly damaged that she was towed to the head of the Tyea Sahnka and abandoned. On August 3rd the towing steamer "City of Astoria" struck an unknown rock between Dyea and Skagway, rolled over under the strong wind and tide, and the crew had barely time to escape when she disappeared. October 13th the Str. "Brixham" was wrecked on the rocks of Blashke Island, and on November 24th the Str. "Detroit," bound from Skagway for Juneau, went on a reef at the north end of Shelter Island in a driving snowstorm and became a total loss. The list for December closes with the wreck of the fishing schooner "St. Lawrence" on her way from Seattle to Juneau, the 28th of December, in a storm near Pybus Bay.

The year 1899 was a fortunate one for the vessels on the southeastern Alaska route, the only vessel to go down being the Br. Str. "Cutch," one

17Customs Records, Skagway Office, Alaska.
18Alaska Searchlight, Juneau, February 12th, 1898.
Skagway Alaskan, February 14th, 1898.
The Clara Nevada was formerly the Revenue Cutter Hassler.

of the fleet that came with the northern rush. She had been the private yacht of a Rajah of a province of India, was brought to these waters, sank in Stephens Channel, was raised and sold to the United States of Colombia, and there used as a gunboat.

The loss of the Str. "Townsend," January 16th, opened the year 1900. She went ashore about three miles below Haines, in a storm. On December 8th the Str. "City of Topeka" struck on the rocks at the south end of Sullivan Island, Lynn Canal, and her passengers and crew were fortunate enough to reach the shore with enough equipment to make a camp in the midst of the storm that was howling down the Chilcat Inlet.

On a pleasant evening, August 14th, 1901, the Br. Str. Islander left the port of Skagway on her way south, and made her way down the magnificent waterway of Lynn Canal. The night was calm and there was not a hint of danger as she plowed her away along the inland waters. At 2 A. M. the next morning, just west of Douglas Island, in Stephens Passage, a sudden shock nearly threw the sleeping passengers from their berths. All was excitement, many of the passengers rose, dressed and hurried out to find the boats being made ready and the ship headed toward shore under command of the Pilot. The Captain, coming on deck, assured the frightened people that there was no danger, ordered the ship on her course and the boats taken in. He had no sooner done so when it was seen that she was taking water fast and the boats were again ordered out and the ship headed for shore. Then confusion prevailed and a rush was made for the boats. One boat was launched and with women and children on board was swamped by others jumping from the sinking vessel. Another boat was swinging at the davits and a man handed his wife into it. He was a moment after knocked into the boat by some one running against him, and the same moment the after fall was loosed, the boat swung by the prow, he fell to the water and his wife hung to the thwarts. The ship was hardly headed for the shore when she sank, taking with her one of the boats and a raft that had been launched. A woman on the deck was carried down the ventilator by the water as the ship sank. A fog hung over the water, making it impossible to distinguish the land, though it was but a short distance away. Soon a boat reached the land, a fire was built and the work of rescuing the survivors, and resuscitating them after the chill of the waters, was begun by those fortunate enough to be able to work. Hour after hour they toiled but many of those rescued from the water died of cold and exhaustion after being brought ashore. Of the crew of 62 men and the passenger list of 111, on board the ship, there were 42 persons who lost their lives, as shown by the official report

of the wreck.[19] The loss of the ship was attributed to striking an iceberg, but it was more than likely that she was off her course and crushed her bottom on the rocks off Point Hilda.

Of all the numerous wrecks on the Inside Passage this has the greatest loss of life.

The Br. Str. "Bristol" was lost Jan. 2, 1902, on the reefs of the islands known as the Gray Island and the Green Island, two round, glacier polished rock masses that rise at the side of the route a little way below Dixon's Entrance in British waters. She was a freighter laden with coal and the master, Captain McIntyre, and six of the crew were lost, while two boats were picked up by the "Cottage City" and their occupants saved.[20] The "Cottage City" went on the rocks at midnight on September 8th, 1902, about twenty miles south of Wrangell, on the shores of Etolin Island. The passengers and crew were taken off by the City of Spokane, which fortunately arrived a short time after. The ship was afterward raised and continued on the route until, on Jany. 26, 1911, she piled up on the treacherous shores of Cape Mudge, near the Seymour Narrows, and became a total loss.[21]

As the years passed the rocks took their toll. To attempt to describe the losses in detail would be a lengthy task and but a few of the more important ones can be mentioned. The Bark Richard III stranded and was lost in Clarence Strait on January 23rd, 1907. In 1909 the Str. Ohio was wrecked in Heikish Narrows, above Milbank Sound, with a loss of two lives. In 1911 the Str. Spokane struck Ripple Rock in Seymour Narrows, and there was barely time to beach her in a cove beyond the Narrows. Two lives were lost in consequence of the wreck.

Next to the Islander, the loss of life on the Str. State of California is the greatest that has occurred in any disaster on the Inland Passage up the coast. On a clear, bright day, August 17th, 1913, the ship left the wharf at the Gambier Bay Cannery, swung round from the landing, and settled down on her course toward the mouth of the harbor. Four minutes after she left the dock an uncharted pinnacle rock ripped open the bottom of the boat as she passed over. The ship was headed for shore and the whistle sounded for assistance. Within three minutes after striking the rock the vessel was beached on the rocky shore and the cannery tugs were on the way to her assistance. No sooner had she reached the beach than the stern settled beneath the surface and she slid back into the deep water, taking with her many of the passengers and crew. The decks

19Daily Alaskan Despatch, Juneau, August 19th, 1901.
Daily Alaskan, Skagway, August 17th and 18th, 1901.
Alaska Traveler's Guide, Skagway, August 16th, 1901.
Official Report Purser of Islander.
Report of Customs Officer Allen J. Walker.
20Daily Alaskan, Skagway, Jany. 11, 1902.
21Records of Pacific Coast S. S. Co., Seattle, Wash.

were raised as by an explosion; the bridge floated off with the Captain shouting his orders as it drifted away; the masts went overboard, smashing the boats that lay in their path; and the next moment there was nothing on the surface but a struggling mass of human beings among the wreckage. The cannery tenders and available small boats rendered every assistance possible, but of the hundred and forty-six persons on board the ship, thirty-five went down to their death.[22]

The Str. "Jeanie" after her many years of adventure among the fogs and ice of the north came to her last resting-place at the south end of Calvert Island, Queen Charlotte Sound, on December 19th, and this closes the list of 1913.

In this article the intention has been to confine the account of the wrecks that have occurred directly upon the line of the most traveled highway along the coast between Seattle and Skagway. By going to one side of this route the list would be lengthened accordingly as the digression extended. It would include the "Star of Bengal," Sept. 20, 1908, on the rock mass of Coronation Island as she was being towed to sea, that smashed to fragments on the cliffs with the loss of over an hundred lives; the "Curacao," on June 21st, 1913, on an uncharted rock in the passages west of Prince of Wales Island; the "Delhi," January 18th, 1915, on Strait Island, Sumner Strait, and many others; but no attempt will be made to do so, beyond appending a list of the vessels lost in Alaskan waters so far as is to be procured from the records.

This year of 1915 has claimed one ship, the liner "Mariposa," that went on the rocks at Pointer Island, B. C., near Lama Pass, during a fog on the morning of October 8th. She was northward bound with passengers and freight at the time of the disaster, but fortunately there was no loss of life.[23] This is not the first time she has been near the same end, for, on July 16th, she sustained $10,000.00 damage by an uncharted rock off Pt. Harrington, Etolin Island, and on July 27th, 1914, she was stranded near Ellamar with a loss of $14,000.00.[24]

The waterway from Seattle to Skagway is almost a continuation of the reaches of Puget Sound; a deep channel behind protecting islands that enclose it like a river that has no sandbars and whose current is the tide. When storm or fog does not close down upon the ship, the way is as safe as a harbor; but when the waterway is wrapped in mist,, or the snow drives down the inlets, until the shores are scarcely distinguishable a boat length away, then there is danger. The other dread of the navigator is the presence of pinnacle rocks in the channels. A submerged rock may lie where

22Alaska Daily Empire, Juneau, August 18th, 1913.
23Juneau Daily Empire, Juneau, Alaska, October 8, 1915.
24See extracts from Customs Records of Puget Sound, and Alaska, as appended hereto.

soundings are made on all sides and indicate deep water; boats may pass over time after time; then on an especially low tide a deeply laden ship will crush her planking and unless she can limp ashore she is lost.

On every trip the log of the ship shows how long is the run on each course, and notes the wind and tide. On running in the fog or storm the same courses are run, checked by past experience, and the echo of the fog signal against the mountain sides give additional warning.

Each year the aids to navigation along the way add to the safety of the boats, and the long delayed drag survey is at last locating the sunken rocks that heretofore cost a ship to find, in almost every case.[25]

Because of the lack of aids to mariners the marine insurance to Alaska is greater than to almost any part of the world. The rate from Seattle to Skagway is as much as the rate from Seattle to Liverpool, *via* the Panama Canal, in times of peace. The government tax on canned salmon is less than 1%, while the marine insurance on this same salmon from Bristol Bay to Seattle is 3%. With adequate aids to navigation along the coast the rate need not be greater than to other parts of the civilized world. The buoys and lights, the fog signals and the wireless telegraph are fast putting aside the marine dangers of Alaskan waters. Some of them are badly needed, have been long delayed, and are warmly welcomed as they arrive. Thirty-five years elapsed before the first light-house was built and nearly half a century has passed and not a light on Bristol Bay, a place from which there is 1,500,000 cases of salmon shipped each year.

The government has not done, and is not now doing, what it should do toward the upbuilding of the Territory of Alaska. Its policy has heretofore been that of repression, rather than of assistance. If, instead of building forts and maintaining military establishments in the country at an immense cost, only to be abandoned, there had been light-houses and coast protection provided, the advancement of the land would have been secured and property amounting to millions of dollars would have been saved. In every instance it has waited for private enterprise to go ahead in the development, while it reaped a benefit before it made an investment.

[25]The waters of British Columbia, through which the ships pass on the Inland route to Alaska, are better lighted than the American channels. They are not so well protected, however, that vessels do not go ashore or strike sunken rocks, for, in addition to the wrecks already referred to in this article, the following notes are appended, to-wit: Str. "Mexico," Apr. 1, 1887, struck rock in Active Pass; Nov. 24, 1888, Str. "Idaho" struck reef, Queen Charlotte Sd.; July 5, 1895, Str. "Portland," pinnacle rock, Dundas Id.; Apr. 17, 1898, Str. "Cottage City," rock, Heikish Narrows; Feb. 12, 1900, Bk. "Colorado," stranded, Johnstone Str.; Feb. 6, 1904, Str. "Cottage City" struck bottom, Seaforth Channel; Jan. 4, 1905, Str. "Santa Ana" stranded, Heikish Narrows; Aug. 16, 1905, Str. "Edith" struck Ripple Rock, Seymour Narrows; Feb. 17, 1907, Str. "Portland" struck rock, Entrance Id.; Sept. 8, 1907, Str. "Santa Barbara" stranded, Active Pass; Feby. 8, 1911, Str. "San Juan" struck rock in Graham Reach; June 29th, 1913, Str. "Dolphin" stranded, Pearse Id., Johnstone Str.; July 5, 1914, Bge. "Gerhard C. Toby" struck Ripple Rock, Seymour Narrows.

With an income greater than the expense, which is a condition that has existed in no other territory of the Union, practically thirty years elapsed before a single permanent public improvement was constructed by the United States. It forgets, that, owning almost the whole of the public domain, it is one of the greatest beneficiaries by the development of the land.

On the other hand, the ones who have realized the greatest results have contributed very little to the cause of advancement. The policy has been to rob the resources and export the proceeds. The salmon fisheries paid absolutly nothing for many years, and today evade a large part of their duties by releasing salmon fry to provide a supply for fish for their own canning the next year. The whole amount paid by the millions of dollars of fish that are taken from Alaska is but a trifle compared with the amount contributed to the other commonwealths to which the wealth thus taken from the country is transferred. The immense sums of gold taken out of the ground have left practically nothing to aid local institutions. The vast sums extracted from the placer mines of the interior, amounting in some years to the sum of over $15,000,000.00, paid not one cent of revenue and did not add one dollar in permanent improvement of any kind. The lode mines for many years paid no tax of any kind and for years, thereafter, all the revenue received from them was the sum of $1.00 per stamp in the stamp mills. A mill of three stamps producing a thousand dollars a day paid $3.00 per year tax, for all purposes. Other mines paid nothing. A million dollars a month of copper ore exported pays no revenue to the Territory whatever.

If the great industries that are exploiting the resources of Alaska, and are taking out vast sums from its mountains and seas, would contribute a rasonable amount toward the expenses of coast protection, and other local needs of the country, and the government would wisely apply that sum, the record of loss would be greatly diminished, and the decrease in the marine insurance would cover the expense.

The government should have, long ago, placed the ordinary safeguards to commerce along the shores, as a sane business investment to prevent the loss of existing revenue producing property, and to add to such property by encouraging and safeguarding development.

The Government owns the great bulk of values in Alaska. This property is useless and non-productive of revenue until used. The chief owner should take the initiative in development, instead of lagging behind and waiting for private interests to take the initiative, as it has done in the past.

To this article is appended a list of wrecks in Alaskan waters, that covers only total losses, taken from the Pacific Fisherman of Seattle, Alaska

Fisherman's Number, November, 1914. Also a wreck list taken from the records of the Customs Office at Juneau, Alaska, and this is supplemented by a list of wrecks upon the Customs Records of Puget Sound that have occurred in Alaskan waters. C. L. ANDREWS.

LIST OF WRECKS IN ALASKAN WATERS FROM PACIFIC FISHERMAN

Year Lost	Name of Vessel	Where Lost	Value of Hull and Cargo
1848	Bark Gem	Bering Sea	$ 75,000
1848	Ship Richmond	Bering Sea	80,000
1851	Ship Mary Mitchell	Arctic	22,000
1851	Ship Acushnet	St. Lawrence Is.	50,000
1851	Ship Mexican	Arctic	22,000
1851	Ship Honqua	Arctic nr. C. Oliver	40,000
1851	Ship Arabella	Near East Cape	25,000
1851	Ship Susan	Arctic	25,000
1851	Ship Washington	Pitt's Island	25,000
1851	Ship Hy Thompson	Diomede Island	30,000
1851	Ship Globe	Bering Straits	35,000
1851	Ship Armata	Cape North	30,000
1851	Ship Bramin	Arctic	20,000
1853	Ship Liverpool	Bering Straits	35,000
1853	Ship Marcus	Bering Straits	20,000
1853	Ship Kingfisher	Bering Straits	30,000
1853	Ship Citizen	Bering Sea	32,000
1853	Ship Mongongahela	Arctic	35.000
1856	Bark Iris	Arctic	20,000
1862	Sch. E. R. Sawyer	Nunivak Island	15,000
1864	Ship Louisiana	Kotzebue Sound	20,000
1867	Bark Washington	Cook Inlet	50,000
1870	Ship Hibernia	Arctic	25,000
1870	Ship Almiral	Arctic	42,000
1870	Bark Awashonks	Arctic	42,000
1871	Bark Carlotta	Arctic	45,000
1871	Ship Gay Head	Arctic	53,000
1871	Bk. Geo. Howland	Arctic	50,000
1871	Bk. Massachusetts	Arctic	57,000
1871	Bark Oriole	Arctic	35,000
1871	Ship Reindeer	Arctic	43,000
1871	Bark Navy	Arctic	55,000
1871	Bark Seneca	Arctic	55,000
1871	Bark Thomas Dickason	Arctic	60,000
1871	Ship Champion	Arctic	50,000
1871	Bark J. D. Thompson	Arctic	50,000
1871	Ship William Rotch	Arctic	43,000
1871	Bark Monticello	Arctic	41,000
1871	Ship Florida	Arctic	62,000
1871	Bark Eugenia	Arctic	40,000
1871	Bark Fanny	Arctic	51,000
1871	Bark George	Arctic	38,000
1871	Bark John Wells	Arctic	40,000
1871	Bark Oliver Crocker	Arctic	40,000
1871	Bark Roman	Arctic	41,500
1871	Bark Emily Morgan	Arctic	42,000
1871	Bark E. Swift	Arctic	40,000
1871	Bark Henry Taber	Arctic	38,000
1871	Bark Minerva	Arctic	40,000
1871	Bark Concordia	Arctic	55,000
1871	Ship Mary	Arctic	53,000
1872	Bark Roscoe	Arctic	55,000
1876	Ship Arctic	Arctic	60,000
1878	Sch. St. George	Kodiak Island	25,000
1878	Sch. Kodiak	Geese Island	25,000
1879	Bark Mt. Wallaston	Arctic	100,000
1879	Bark Vigilant	Arctic	100,000
1880	Sch. Nagay	Shumagin Island	2,000
1881	Sch. Henrietta	St. Lawrence Is.	25,000
1882	Sch. Sapho	Arctic	25,000
1882	Sch. General Miller	Shumagin Island	15,000
1882	Sch. H. L. Tiernan	Shumagin Islands	17,000
1883	Sch. Wild Gazelle	Shumagin Islands	20,000
1885	Bk. Amethyst	Arctic	50,000
1885	Bark Montana	Bristol Bay	50.000
1885	Bark Gazelle	Arctic	50,000
1885	Bark Rainier	Arctic	50,000
1885	Bark George and Susan	Arctic	50,000
1885	Bark Mabel	Arctic	50,000

1885	Bark Napoleon	Bering Sea	50,000
1886	Sch. Clara Light	Arctic	10,000
1886	Bk. John Carver	Arctic	50,000
1886	Slp. Western Shore	Bristol Bay	100,000
1888	Bk. Young Phoenix	Pt. Barrow	50,000
1888	Bk. Julia Foard	Karluk	42,000
1888	Bark Ohio	Pt. Hope	25,000
1888	Sch. Isabel	Shumagin Islands	15,000
1888	Sch. Vanderbilt	Bering Sea	12,000
1889	S.S. Ancon	Loring	100,000
1890	Bark Eliza	St. Lawrence Is.	50,000
1890	Bark Lagoda	Arctic	50,000
1890	Sch. Silver Wave	Pt. Barrow	10,000
1890	Bk. Thomas Pope	Pt. Hope	50,000
1890	Bkn. Korea	Kalgin Island	75,000
1890	Bkn. Lizzie Williams	Tugadak Is.	100,000
1890	Bkn. Oneida	Sannak Island	125,000
1890	Bark Corea	Cook Inlet	51,000
1890	S.S. Wm. Lewis	Pt. Barrow	150,000
1891	Sch. Sadie F. Caller	Chignik	56,000
1891	Sch. Dashing Wave	Bering Sea	25,000
1892	Bk. Abraham Barker	Arctic	50,000
1892	Brig Alexander	Arctic	50,000
1892	Bk. Helen Mar	Arctic.	55,000
1892	Bk. John P. West	Arctic	50,000
1893	Bark Ohio	Nunivak	10,000
1893	Sch. John Hancock	Shumagin Islands	30,000
1894	Schooner Mary H. Thomas	Bering Sea	8,500
1894	Sch. Mascot	Bering Sea	8,000
1894	Schooner Mathew Turner	North Pacific	7,500
1895	Bk. Jacob Howland	Strong Island	50,000
1895	Ship Raphael	Karluk	54,000
1895	Bark Montana	Nushagak	10,000
1895	Launch Annie May	Karluk	1,300
1896	Bk. Jas. A. Borland	Tugidak	114,000
1896	Brig Hidalgo	Arctic	30,000
1897	S.S. Mexico	Dixon's Entrance	100,000
1897	Bkn. Jessie Freeman	Pt. Barrow	50,000
1897	S.S. Orca	Pt. Barrow	100,000
1897	Sch. Rosario	Pt. Barrow	40,000
1897	S.S. Navarch	Arctic	100,000
1898	Ship Sterling	Cape Constantine	75,500
1898	S.S. Clara Nevada	Lynn Canal	50,000
1898	S.S. Brixam	Clarence Straits	100,000
1898	S.S. Anita	Cook Inlet	1,000
1899	Pioneer	Arctic	45,000
1899	S.S. Laurada	Bering Sea	150,000
1899	Bk. Wildwood	Nushagak	95,000
1899	Launch Karluk	Karluk	5,200
1899	Bk. Lizzie Williams	Nome	5,500
1899	Bge. N. A. T. & T. Co. 3	Tugidak	73,000
1900	S.S. Orizaba	St. Michael	15,000
1900	Sch. Jessie	St. Michael	100,000
1900	Bark Merom	Karluk	64,000
1900	Barge Colorado	Wrangel: Narrows	50,000
1900	Bark Hunter	Bering Sea	50,000
1900	Bkn. Catherine Sudden	Bering Sea	50,000
1900	Bark Alaska	Bering Sea	25,000
1901	Grampus	Pt. Barrow	50,000
1901	Sch. Laura May	Kvichak	6,000
1902	S.S. Balaena	Bering Sea	100,000
1902	S.S. Chas. D. Lane	Nunivak Island	100,000
1902	S.S. Discovery	Yakutat	50,000
1901	S.S. Islander	Douglas Island	225,000
1902	Sch. Lettie	Port Moller	500
1902	Sch. Anna	Bering Sea	18,000
1903	S.S. Cleveland	Bering Sea	75,000
1903	Launch Delphine	Karluk	900
1903	Sch. Mary and Ida	Bering Sea	20,000
1904	Sch. Mary D. Hume	Nushagak	15,500
1905	Sch. Wm. & John	S. E. Alaska	2,000
1905	Bark Servia	Karluk	205,000
1905	Sch. Pearl	Shumagin Islands	18,000
1905	Sch. Nellie Coleman	Shumagin Islands	20,000
1905	Sch. Francis Alice		15,000
1905	Sch. Laura Madsen	Off Pt. Barrow	20,000
1905	Sch. Marion	Sannak Island	20,000
1905	Sch. Mary Ann	Unga	15,000
1905	Sch. Mayflower	Solomon	3,000
1905	Sch. Seven Sisters	Kotzebue Sound	15,000
1905	Sch. Volant	Birstol Bay	18,000
1905	Gas s. Admiral	Andreosofsky	10,000
1905	Gas s. Anglo Saxon	Chiniak	8,000
1905	S.S. Gov. Perkins	Nome	10,000

1905	S.S. John Reilly	Cape Blossom	60,000
1905	Bg. John J. Mitchell	Yukon Flats	10,000
1905	Sch. Margery	Sanborn Harbor	4,000
1905	Sch. Pirate	Pirate Cove	5,000
1905	Sch. Florence	Egowik	3,500
1905	Sch. Bozanza	King Point	18,000
1905	Bark Coryphene	Off Prince of Wales Island	40,000
1905	SS. Arctic Bird	Kobuk River	10,000
1906	Bark Nicholas Thayer	Kodiak Island	20,000
1906	S.S. Oregon	Cape Hinchinbrook	200,000
1906	S.S. Mariechen	Chatam Straits	300,000
1906	S.S. Themis	Hardigan Reef	120,000
1906	S.S. Miami	Kvichak	10,000
1906	Sch. Excelsior	Nelson's Lagoon	23,000
1906	S.S. Koyukuk	Tanana River	40,000
1906	S.S. Lotta Talbot	Fairbanks	60,000
1906	S.S. Miami	Kvichak River	25,000
1906	S.S. Explorer	Russian Mission	11,000
1906	Bge. Sesnon No. 6	Nome	4,000
1906	Bge. Sesnon No. 9	Nome	4,000
1906	S.S. Rock Island	Chenoa	55,000
1906	Slp. Lila	Dauphin Is. Bay	2,000
1906	Sch. Mary Gray	Dauphin Is. Bay	2,200
1906	Sch. Olivia	Dauphin Is. Bay	2,500
1906	Sch. Sehome	Point Gardner	2,800
1906	S.S. Alexander	Cape Parry	50,000
1906	S.S. Leah	Yukon River	50,000
1906	S.S. Tanana Chief	Kautishua River	20,000
1906	Scow Skip	Mount Andrew	5,000
1906	Barge Gold Star	Tanana River	15,000
1907	Ship John Currier	Nelson's Lagoon	145,000
1907	Sch. St. Paul	Sukhlish Island	25,000
1907	Bk. Wm. Bayliss	Arctic	50,000
1907	Slp. Alta	Ugashik	650
1907	Launch Odiak	Prince William Sound	3,000
1907	Gas. s. Rita Newman	Simeonof Island	50,000
1907	Bark Servia	Karluk	205,000
1907	Sch. Glen	Unimak Island	20,000
1907	Barge Richard III.	Virago Sound	20,000
1907	Sch. Defender	Kuskokwim Bay	4,200
1907	Gas s. Anglo Saxon	Cape Woolley	8,000
1907	Sch. Bender Bros.	Good News Bay	14,000
1907	Sch. Martha W. Tuft	Kattalla River	14,000
1907	Sch. St. Paul	Chowiet Island	6,000
1907	Sch. Vine	Deering	15,000
1907	S.S. Ella	Tanana River	40,000
1907	Gas s. Hammond	Storey Island	8,000
1907	Barge No. 3	St. Michael	20,000
1907	Slp. Nymph	Hadley	3,000
1907	Gas s. Greyhound	Nome	8,000
1908	Sch. Ivy	Arctic	6,000
1908	Ship Lucille	Ugashik	180,000
1908	Bk. Star of Bengal	Coronation Island	330,000
1908	S.S. Saratoga	Bushby Island	175,000
1908	Sch. John F. Miller	Unimak Island	20,000
1908	Sch. Petrel	Pybus Bay	6,000
1908	Sch. Comus	Lynn Canal	2,500
1908	Sch. Olga	Pt. Freemantle	5,000
1908	Sch. Seven Sisters	Cape Espenberg	10,000
1908	S.S. Agnes E. Boyd	Kobuk River	14,000
1908	Scow Chignik No. 1	Cape Cleare	8,000
1908	Sch. Bear	Near Unalaska	4,000
1909	Ship Columbia	Unimak Pass	78,000
1909	Barge Quatsino	Dixon Entrance	30,000
1909	Barge Charger	Karta Bay	25,000
1909	S.S. Uyak	Karluk	20,000
1909	Gas s. Olga	Arctic	20,000
1909	Gas s. Canella	Vanks Island	4,500
1909	Sch. Linea L.	Portage Bay	4,000
1909	S.S. Florence	St. Michaels Canal	15,000
1909	S.S. Nunivak	Tanana River	35,000
1909	Gas s. Iona	Nome	4,500
1909	Scow Camilla A.	Chignik Bay	15,000
1909	Barge Michigan	Tanana River	18,000
1909	Gas s. Winthrop	Nunivak Island	12,000
1910	S.S. Farallon	Iliamna Bay	80,000
1910	S.S. Portland	Katalla	55,000
1910	S.S. Olympia	Bligh Island	150,000
1910	Revenue Cutter Perry	St. Paul Island	150,000
1910	Sch. Stanley	Sannak Island	8,000
1910	Gas s. Sea Light	S. E. Alaska	5,000
1910	Sch. Bob	Juneau	3,000
1910	Sch. Never Mind	Lynn Canal	3,000
1910	Gas s. Bertha	Carter	8,000

			25,000
1910	Gas s. H. Johnston	Pt. Hope	10,000
1910	Gas s. Louise	Cape Prince of Wales	6,000
1910	Bge. C. L. Hutchinson	Kaltag	4,000
1910	Bge. K. S. L. Co. No. 7	Channing Island	4,000
1910	Barge Sesnon No. 6	Nome	6,000
1910	Barge Sesnon No. 7	Nome	5,000
1910	Scow Teller	Tuksuk River	5,000
1910	S.S. Princess		20,000
1910	S.S. Elsie	Valdez	5,000
1910	Bge. K. S. L. Co. No. 4	Willow Bay	8,000
1910	Gas s. J. Matthews	Cape Darby	15,000
1910	Gas s. L. S. Sorensen	Cape Addington	30,000
1911	Sch. Czarina	Nagal Island	150,000
1911	SS. Ramona	Cape Decision	105,000
1911	Ship Jabez Howes	Chignik	20,000
1911	Gas. Sch. F. S. Redfield	Cape Prince of Wales	12,000
1911	Sch. Jessie Minor	Nelsons Lagoon	25,000
1911	S.S. Koyukuk	Tanana River	4,000
1911	Scow P. C. S. Co. No. 1	Norton Sound	5,000
1911	Gas s. St. Anthony	Metlakahtla	45,000
1911	S.S. Grant	Hecate Straits	10,000
1912	Bk. Hayden Brown	Montague Island	20,000
1912	Sch. Joseph Russ	Chirikof Island	5,000
1912	Gas. s. Laclabell	Near Ketchikan	25,000
1912	Sch. Compeer	Bristol Bay	70,000
1912	Gas s. Oakland	Dry Bay	12,000
1912	Bge. Sesnon No. 13	Nome	170,000
1913	S.S. Yukon	Sannak Island	225,000
1913	S.S. State of California	Gambier Bay	225,000
1913	S.S. Curacao	Warm Chuck	12,000
1913	S.S. Kayak	Yakutat	55,000
1913	S.S. Weiding	Queen Charlotte Island	35,000
1913	Gas Sch. Elvira	Arctic	15,000
1913	Sch. Transit	Kotzebue Sound	400,000
1913	S.S. Armeria (L. H. tender)	Cape Hinchinbrook	44,000
1914	Bk. Gay Head	Chignik Bay	310,000
1914	Revenue Cutter Tahoma	Aleutian Islands	200,000
1914	Bk. Paramita	Unimak Pass	35,000
1914	Sch. W. H. Dimond	Bird Island	45,000
1914	S.S. Karluk	Arctic	15,000
1914	Gas s. Alice	Cape Decision	7,000
1914	Purse Seiner Schcold	Frederick Sound	9,000
1914	Gas s. Alert	Near Snettisham	
	Total		$12,792,250

LIST OF WRECKS IN ALASKAN WATERS FROM RECORDS OF CUSTOMS OFFICE, JUNEAU, ALASKA

1868 Am. Sch. Growler, Dixon's Entrance, total loss.

1874 Feb. 16, Am. Sch. "Margaret," near Kake Village, went ashore, total loss.

1875 Sept. 20, Am. Sch. "Sitka," near Wrangell, driven ashore, total loss.

1879 Oct. 30, Am. Sch. "W. H. Wood," near Unga, driven ashore, total loss.

1880 Apr. 6, Am. Sch. "Nicholas," Elainia Is., driven ashore, total loss.

1879 Dec. 5, Am. Sch. "Bella," Unamak, went ashore in storm, total loss.

1881 April 2, Am. Sch. "Goldhunter," driven ashore east of Yakutat, total loss.

1881 April 27, Am. Sch. "St. George," unknown rock near Nuchek.

1881 October 6, Am. Sch. "Pauline Collins," Karluk, total loss $7.000.

1884 Apr. 28, Am. Sch. "St. Paul," north of Kodiak, total loss $1,800.

1885 Nov. 22, Am. Sl. "Mary," went ashore in storm, total loss, north point Admiralty Id.

1886 Nov. —, Am. Sch. "Flying Scud," lost at sea near Karluk, 18 lives lost.

1887 March 30th, Am. Sch. "Ounimak" near Pirate Cove, total loss. 7 lives lost.

1886 Sept. 13, Am. Str. "Ancon," near Pt. Gustavus, unknown rock, loss $20,000.

1890 Jan. 22, Am. Str. "Despatch," ashore in storm, Seymour Canal, damage $3,000.

1892 Aug. 20, Am. Sch. "Albatross," stranded, Lituya Bay, total loss.

1893 May 26, Am. Bk. "Sea Ranger," uncharted ledge, Kayak Id., total loss $40,000.

1893 Sept. 23, Am. Sch. "Albert Walter," near Kodiak, total loss $4,400.

1893 Nov. 6, Am. Str. "Yukon" went ashore in storm, Juneau, loss $1,500.

1894 May 3, Am. Sch. "Helen," near Yakutat, beached, loss $6,000.

1894 March 7, Am. Sch. "Undaunted," near Kayak Id., total loss, $4,100, stranded.

1894 May 11, Am. Whaling Bk, "Jas Allen," sunken rock east of Amlia Id., total loss $30,000 and 15 lives lost.

1884 Jul. 10, Am. Sch. "Alice," Cook Inlet, stranded, total loss, $1.200.

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1894 Jan. 18, Am. Sch. "Mary Wood," near Kodiak, total loss, stranded. $800.

1894 Oct. 12, Am. Sch. "Mist Vood," foundered in storm, off Sitka, total loss $600.

1894 Aug. 20, Am. Sch. "Two Brothers," stranded, Unalaska Id., total loss, $1,250.

1895 Sept. 27, Am. Sch. "Crystal," stranded, Yakutat Bay, total loss, $3,000.

—— ———, Am. Sch. "Seventy Six," off Kodiak, lost at lea, $2,000, 7 lives lost.

1896 July 30, Sch. "Hero," struck rock, Barren Id., total loss, $1,000.

1897 April 17, Am. Sch. "Therese," Cold Bay, S. E. Gale, total loss, $3,000.

1897 May 31, Am. St. "Arctic," Yukon River, ice, total loss, $20,000.

1898 Jany. 31, Str. Scow, Dixon's Entrance, —?

1898 March 8, Am. Sch. "Sitka," off Cape Ommaney, total loss, $800, 3 men, all on board.

1898, Mar. 4, Am. Str. "Whitelaw," fire and ashore, Skagway, $72,000.

1898 Apr. 11, Am. Bk. "Mercury," stanrded, Skagway, loss $11,000.

1898 Apr. 25th, Am. Sch. "Elsie," stranded, Chichagoff Id., total loss, $18,-600.

1898 Dec. 22, Am. Sch. "Alexandra," Kodiak, Goose Id., stranded, $800, 10 lives, total loss.

1898 April 11, Am. Bk. "Mercury," stranded at Skagway, loss $3,000.

1898 June 2, Bge. "General," foundered at sea, loss ?

1898 July 3, Str. "Alfred J. Beach, foundered at sea, total loss, $42,000.

1898 June 21, Am. Scow "Argo," foundered off Dixon's Entrance, $4,500, total loss.

1898 July 4, Am. —— "Constantine," foundered at sea, total loss $37,000.

1898 July 25, Br. Str. "Mono," went on rocks, Bushy Id., loss ?

1898 June 28, Am. Steel Barge, fonudered at sea, $15,000.

1898 June 17, Am. Steel Barge "No. 1," foundered at sea, total loss $17,-000.

1898 July 1, Br. Str. "Marquis of Dufferin," foundered at sea, $41,000.

1898 June 20, Am. Bge. "No. 5," off Cross Sound, foundered, total loss $4,000.

1898 July 27, Am. Bge. "No. 6," foundered near Dutch Harbor, $4,000, total loss.

1898 ———, Am. Bge. "No. 7," off Cross Sound, foundered $4,000, total loss.

1898 July 28, Am. Bge. "No. 8," near Dutch Harbor, foundered, $4,000, total loss.

1898 Aug. 7, Am. Bk. "Guardian," stranded, Unimak Pass, total loss $12,-000.

1898 Aug. 3, Am. Str. "City of Astoria," unknown rock near Dyea, $7,000, total loss.

1898 Aug. 19, Am. Sch. "Louise J. Kennedy," near Pt. Hope, total loss, $17,000.

1898 Aug. 1, Br. Str. "Stickine Chief," foundered at sea, total loss, $37,000.

1898 Nov. 24, Am. Str. "Detroit," stranded on reef near Shelter Id., $12,000, total loss.

1898 Dec. 28, Am. Sch. "St. Lawrence," Pybus Bay, ashore in storm, $4,000, total loss.

1899 Apr. 1, Am. Sch. "Foam," near Unga, total loss, stranded, $400.

1899 Jul. 31, Am. Bge. "St. Michaels No. 8," stranded, near St. Michael, $5,000, total loss.

1899 July 31, Bge. "St. Michaels No. 1," near St. Michaels, loss $5,000.

1899 Aug. 26, Am. Str, "St. James," capsized in Yukon, total loss, $8,000.

1899 Nov. 4, Am. Str. "Dora," struck ice in Icy Straits, damage $2,000.

1899 Nov. 27, Am. Sch. "Adventure," stranded, ———, total loss $500.

1899 Oct. 28, Am. Bk. "Mermaid,' whaling in Arctic Ocean, storm, $29,000.

1899 Dec. 12, Am. Bk. "Colusa," near Sitka, on rocks in storm, $20,000.

1900 Jan. 16, Am. Str. "Townsend," near Haines, went ashore, $40,000, total loss.

1900 Jan. 31, Am. Sch. "Wolcott,' struck rock near Ayak Bay, Kodiak, total loss, $——?

1900 June 23, Bktn. "Leslie D.," stranded Nunivak Id., total loss, $23,000.

1900 June 6, Am. Bk. "Alaska," stranded near Nome, total loss, $55,000.

1900 June —, Am. Sch. "Eclipse," stranded near Cape Romantzoff, $80,000, total loss.

1900 Sept. 17, Am. Str. "Orizaba," stranded on ledge near St. Michael, $75,-000, total loss.

1900 Sept. 12, Sch. "Genl. McPherson," Safety Harbor, total loss $7,000.

1900 Sept. 10, Am. Sch. "Sequoia," stranded in storm, Nome, loss $18,000.

1900 Sept. 12, Sch. "Prosper," stranded near Nome, total loss, $———? 1 life lost.

1900 Sept. 12, Am. Bge. "Skookum," stranded in storm, Nome, total loss, $43,000.

1900 Nov. 29, Am. Str. "Tillamook," stranded at Wood Island, $30,000, total loss.

1900 Dec. 8, Str. "City of Topeka," stranded, reef near Sullivan Id., $25,000.

1900 Dec. 23, Am. Sch. "Idler," stranded Coronation Id., total loss, $———?

1900 Oct. 13, Am. Sch. "Francis Alice," Bering Sea, total loss, $6,000.

1901, Mar. 3, Am. Sch. "Anna," ashore in storm, Sannak Id., total loss, $29,000.

1901 Feb. 20, Am. Sch. "Lliamna," stranded, Kogatoska, total loss, $4,000.
1901 Sept. 12, Am. Str. "Dusty Diamond," stranded Golovin Bay, $2,000, total loss.
1901 July 15th, Am. Bk. "Oakland," stranded near Port Clarence, $23,000, total loss.
1901 Oct. 20, Am. Bge. 'Maude," stranded, 3 miles east Lamont Pt., $6,000, total loss.
1901 Nov. 2, Str. "City of Topeka," collision with ice, Taku Inlet, $6,000.
1901 July 23, Am. Str. "Queen," struck rock near Five Fingers, $5,000 damage.
1901 Mar. 30, Ch. Sl. "Fearless," struck rock near Dutch Harbor, $30,000, total loss.
1901 Nov. 9, Am. Str. "Oriole," carried away by ice, Kotzebue Sd., $2,000.
1902 Apr. 21, Am. Sch. "Viking," stranded, Unga, total loss, $10,000.
1902 Aug. 20, Str. "Will H. Isom" and 2 bges. ashore Pt. Romanoff, $35,000 damage.
1902 Sept. 7, Am. Str. "Cottage City," stranded, Etolin Id., damage $50,000 ship and cargo.
1902 Sept. 6, Am. Sch. "J. B. Ward," stranded, Unimak Id., total loss $2,000.
1903 Jan. —, Am. Sch. "Nor'west," stranded Wrangel Bay, total loss $———?
1903 Feb. 4, Sloop "Marina," stranded, reef, total loss, $250, four lives.
1900 Aug. 3, Am. Str. "Hattie B.," stranded Nome, loss $5,000.
1903 Sept. 4, Am. Sch. "Abbie M. Deering," struck reef, Akutan Pass, $5,000, total loss.
1903 Sept. 6, Am. Str. "Excelsior," fire, Wrangel Narrows, loss $25,000.
1903 Oct. 25, Am. Str. 'Rainier," struck rock, Icy Straits, total loss $7,000.
1904 Feb. 24, Am. Sch. "Sehome," stranded, total loss, Douglas Id., $1,200.
1904 May 12, Am. Ship "Balelutha," stranded, Geese Id. Strait, $50,000, total loss.
1904 Aug. 8, Am. Scow, "Elizabeth," foundered, off Cape Cheerful, $500.
1904 Aug. 4, Am. Sch. "Viking," stranded, Wales Id., total loss, $9,000.
1904 Sept. 4, Am. Str. "Sadie," uncharted rock, Kotzebue Sound, $77,500.
1904 Oct. 23, Am. Sch. "J. L. Perry," stranded on Kayak Id., total loss, $1,500.
1904 Nov. 30, Am. Sch. "Columbia," stranded McLeod's Bay, total loss, $1,000.
1905 June 21, Sch. "Geo. W. Perkins," stranded, Nome beach, loss, $6,000 total.
1905 July 28, Am. Sch. "Barbara Hernster," stranded, Bering Sea, $36,000, total loss.
1906 May 20, Str. "Koyokuk," rock, Tanana River, damage $12,000.
1906 Sept. 13, Am. Str. "Oregon," struck rock near Hinchinbrook Cape, $25,000 damage.
1906 Dec. 27, Sch. "Lesnoy," stranded, Wossnessensky Id., total loss $700.
1907 June 12, Am. Str. "Ohio," damaged $75,000 in ice, Bering Sea.
1907 June 29th. Sch. "Lizzie Colby," stranded, uncharted reef, Bering Sea, loss $25,000.
1910 Aug. 5, Br. Str. "Princess May," stranded, Sentinel Id., $20,000 damage.
1911 Sept. 7, Str. "Northland," struck reef, Tangas Narrows, damage $1,000.
1914 Sept. 20, U. S. Revenue Cutter "Tahoma," uncharted reef, off Aleutian Islands, total loss.
1915 Jan. 18, Am. Str. "Delhi," unknown reef, Sumner Strait, $140,000 loss.
1915 Sept. —, Am. Str. "Edith," foundered, near Kayak Id., loss, total, $250,000.
1915 Sept. 23, Am. St. Sch. "P. J. Abler," fire, Douglas Id., loss $———?

WRECKS IN ALASKAN WATERS, FROM CUSTOMS RECORDS, SEATTLE

188- ——, Sch. "Edward E. Webster," sunken reef, off Unga Id., $13,000, total loss.
1897 Sept. 7, Am. Sch. "Hueneme," stranded Unimak Id., total loss, $32,500.
1898 Aug. 7, Am. Bk., "Guardian," Unimak Pass, struck reef, total loss, $12,000.
1898 June 28, Am. Str. "Western Star," blown on reef, Katmai Bay, $46,000.
1898, March 1, Str. "Eliza Anderson," stranded at Unalaska, total $10,000 loss.
1898 Nov. 1, Am. Str. "Wallowa," stranded at Mary Id., uncharted rock, $———?
1898 Nov. 4, Am. Bk. "Columbia," near Portland Canal, stranded, $14,000 total loss.
1899, March 29, Str. 'City of Topeka," struck rock, Wrangell St., $20,000 damage.
1898 Nov. 25, Am. Sch. "Reub L. Richardson," near Seal Rocks, $2,000, stranded.
1899 June 25, Str. "Geo. Mathews," stranded, near Nome, total loss $5,000.
1900 Aug. 14, "Elvin Thompson," near Cape Newingham, total loss, $1,400.
1900 Oct. 16, Sch. "Ruby A. Cousins," sunken reef, Pr. Wm. Sound, $15,000, total loss.
1900 Oct. 12, Sch. "Emma Louise," near Hone, Alaska, total loss, $13,500.
1900 Nov. —, Sch. "Reub L. Richardson," near Cape Nome, stranded, $10,000, total loss.

1904 Nov. 23, Am. Str. "City of Seattle," struck rock at Eagle Harbor, $9,000 damage.
1907 Nov. 13, Str. "Jeanie," stranded, Wrangell Narrows, buoy shifted, $1,600.
1911 Feb. 7, Str. 'Victoria," stranded, thick weather, Hinchinbrook, $25,000.
1911 April 19, Str. "Dora," stranded, Akun Pass, thick weather, $2,500 loss.
1911 Dec. 10, Sch. "Zapora," Nesbit reef, Zarembo Id., stranded, $8,000 damage.
1912 May 6, Str. 'Santa Ana," stranded, Channel Id., Tangas Narrows, damage $3,500.
1913 Jan. 10, Str. "Latouche," stranded, Icy Strait, thick weather, $15,000 damage.
1913 Aug. 15 Str. "City of Seattle," grounded, Tongas Narrows, $1,200 damage.
1913 Jan. 15, Str. "Cordo a," grounded, Wrangell Narrows, $3,000 damage.
1914 Feby. 27, Str. "Mariposa," stranded, near Ellamar, damaged $14.000.

A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLARK STRONG*

In the death of Genl. James Clark Strong, at Oakland, California, on the 3rd of September, 1915, at the advanced age of 89 years 3 months and 23 days, the writer lost a cherished friend and *companion de guerre*, and the nation an unselfish, intrepid, brave and noble soldier of the republic. His patrician nature responded to all that was noble and true. The friends he had—and they were many—were linked to his heart with hooks of steel.

As a soldier, a citizen, a civil or judicial officer he was *sans peur et sans reproche*. In the prime of his young manhood, he entered the army of his beloved country, in the civil war. As a captain of Co. "E," 21st regiment, N. Y., Vol. Infantry, and was commissioned as captain of said company (which he raised), May 7, 1861. His entrance into the service was not to fight for power, for plunder, or extended rule, not to overthrow or uphold a dynasty, but he went out to face wounds and if need be death, in order that this—"the world's last hope of a free government on earth"—should not perish.

His simple creed was to do honestly what was given him to do. He, in early life, adopted the homely motto of Davy Crockett: "Be sure you're right and then go ahead." He did not ask or lead his men to face an unknown peril. It was his habit, regardless of personal danger, to make a reconnaissance of the field, and he always led the advance when and where duty called. In one of the great battles of the war—Williamsburg, Va.—while gallantly leading his regiment into the very jaws of hell, he received, what was at the time regarded, as a mortal wound, but after a long and painful illness he partially recovered, but the wound was of such a character that it never healed and he suffered from it up to the hour of his death. This noble patriot—this Christian soldier—has responded to the final summons—he has answered the last roll-call. We know not on what sphere of nightless glory, my friend and companion, now builds his altar. But this we know, that somewhere, I know not where, somehow, he still lives.

We need no priest to tell us this, nor sophist to deny it, for there is before each of us the testimony of his own soul and thought, as disclosed in

*A few words should be said about these two men. General Strong was a member of Washington's first Territorial Legislature. So far as known, his death leaves not a single survivor of that body. Major Turner, who writes the tribute to his friend, is in his ninetieth year. He is a survivor of four wars—the Mexican war, two Indian wars in Oregon and Washington and the Civil War.—Editor.

the autobiography of his life, now lying open before me, a "soul and thought" as a witness never suborned.

Good-night, dear comrade! Farewell for a time, brave, gentle and loving spirit! Yet a little while and we who, like you, have marched under the starry splendor of Old Glory, battling for a nation's life and the freedom of man, will bid you good-morning on a brighter shore!

"Lay him gently on his Mother Earth!
"While tears like rain
"Bedew his grave from nation and from hearth,
"There rests no stain
"Upon his sword, no tarnish on his worth—
"So dust to dust again."

JUNIUS THOMAS TURNER.

Washington, D. C., October 19, 1915.

GEORGE BUSH, THE VOYAGEUR

The history of the northwest settlement cannot be fully written without an account of George Bush,* who organized and led the first colony of American settlers to the shores of Puget Sound. His great humanity, shrewd intelligence, and knowledge of the natives who then numbered thousands about the headwaters of the Sound had much to do with carrying the first settlers safely through the many crises of famine and war while the feeble colony was slowly gaining enough strength to protect itself.

Mr. Bush claimed to have been born about 1791 in what is now Missouri but was then the French Colony of Louisiana, and in the extreme far west, only reached by the most daring hunters. His early manhood was spent in the employ of the great trading companies who reached out into the Rocky Mountains each season and gathered furs from the Indians and the occasional white trappers.

Bush first began this work with Robideau, the Frenchman, who made his headquarters at St. Louis, but later on enlisted with the Hudson's Bay Company which had been given unrestricted dominion over all Canada outside of the settlements in the East, and, not satisfied with that, sent its trading parties down across the National line where it was safe to do so. It was during this employment with the Hudson's Bay Company that Bush reached the Pacific Coast in the late twenties, and while he did not get as far south as Puget Sound (then occupied by the Company and claimed as a part of the British Dominion), he learned of its favorable climate, soil and fitness for settlement. He then returned to Missouri about 1830, settled in Clay County, married a German-American woman and raised a family of boys.

In 1843, Marcus Whitman made his famous trip from Oregon to the National Capitol and excited the whole country by his stories of the great possible future of the extreme northwest and the duty of the Government to insist upon its claim to dominion over the western Coast from the Mexican settlement in California up to the Russian possessions in the far north.

Everything got into politics then, even more than now, and the Democratic party, which until then had been the most aggressive in extending the National bounds, took up the cry of "Fifty-four Forty, or Fight" to win what they knew would be a close contest for president in 1844. This

*George Bush was one of the first and certainly the greatest man of his race to enter the history of this state. He was a negro.—Editor.

meant the taking possession of the whole thousand miles or more of coast by settlement and driving the English out by threats or force.

As I have indicated before, the people of St. Louis and Missouri had become deeply interested in the extreme west through their trading interests and as the retired voyageur was one of the very few who knew about the western coast, and had sufficient fitness for leadership, he was encouraged by his friends to make up a party and cross the plains to the new Oregon. This was in the winter of 1843-4 and early in the Spring, he, with four other families and three single men, set out with a large outfit of wagons and live stock over what is now known as the "Old Oregon Trail."

The names of this company were as follows: George Bush, his wife and sons (Wm. Owen, Joseph, R. B., Sanford—now living—and Jackson); Col. M. T. Simmons, wife and seven children; David Kindred, wife and one son; Gabriel Jones, wife and three children; Wm. McAllister, wife and several children, and the three young bachelors, Samuel Crockett, Reuben Crowder, and Jesse Ferguson. Of these families, the Jones and Kindrds are now extinct, and of the original party only two sons of Col. Simmons, and Sanford Bush are now living. Lewis Bush, the youngest son of George Bush, was born after their arrival, in 1847 on Bush Prairie, and, by the way, is perhaps the oldest living white American born in the Puget Sound basin. The Bush party had suffered the usual hardships of the overland journey but met no great disaster, and reached The Dalles late in the fall of 1844. There and at Vancouver they camped for the winter and decided their future plans.

At that time the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, the sole official representative of the British Government, was on the Columbia river with its chief settlements at Vancouver and The Dalles. It was the policy of the company to prevent all settlement north of the Columbia river and confine its use to the fur bearing industry and depend upon the Indians for the necessary hunting and trapping. The employes of the company consisted of the necessary factors and clerks, some English but more Scotch, while the rest, boatmen, etc., were nearly all Canadian French.

The great Chief Factor for the whole west was Dr. McLoughlin, a benevolent despot well fitted to govern his savage dominion so long as the Yankees kept away but at the period in question he found himself in a painful conflict between the interests of humanity and the demands of his superiors. The governing board in London was composed of members of the government and aristocracy who were extremely resentful of the demands and claims of the American politicians and gave most imperative orders to Dr. McLoughlin and the other factors and agents on the Coast

to discourage all settlement by the Americans north of the Columbia river and to furnish no supplies or other assistance to the American travelers or settlers. This prohibition also extended, though less rigidly, to the Oregon settlements south of the Columbia, for the company saw clearly that unless the emigration could be checked the vast profits of their fast growing trade in the west would soon be lost.

Sanford Bush, who though a small boy at the time, remembers the trip well, tells me that the main dependence of his father's party and the other early settlers was the friendliness of the French Canadians who had much more sympathy for the poor settlers than with the English stockholders, and did not hesitate to smuggle all sorts of supplies, especially of food, from their farms into the hands of the Americans and it was in this emergency that the former experience and intimate acquaintance of George Bush with the French, and their desire to assist him, turned his attention to the Puget Sound country, and made it possible for him to smuggle his party up into the country which was yet claimed by the British, though with a private understanding between Bush and the Chief Factor. At that time, the road from the Columbia river, or rather from the landing on the Cowlitz river, to the head of the Sound at Tumwater was only a single trail through dense forests, and that was always more or less blocked by falling timber. No vehicle could get through and, while Sanford says that the party did get some of the twenty wagons with which they left Missouri through to The Dalles, they only reached the Sound with what they could pack on their animals or on sleds.

In this condition the little party reached the extreme head of the Sound at Tumwater early in the Spring of 1845 and proceeded to take possession of such tracts of land as took their fancy, covering what is now the town of Tumwater and back along the west side of the little Des Chutes river, and out on the prairie which begins about a mile south of the landing and extends down about three miles to a rise of ground not far from the river. Upon this commanding site, George Bush pitched his last camp and there his family have lived to the present time, and the prairie of some five square miles extent has always been known as Bush Prairie.

Mr. Bush was a farmer and having brought as much live stock as possible he at once broke up some of the best of the open prairie. He was so successful that in a very few years his farm was the main resource for grain, vegetables and fruit for supplying the newcomers in that region. Let me say in passing that his memory is honored to this day among the early families for the fact that while he was at times the only man in the country with food for sale he would never take advantage by raising the price nor allow anyone to buy more than his own needs during an emergency.

In 1845, there were no mills on the Sound for grinding grain nor sawing lumber and as quick as the necessary outfit could be secured, which was about three years later, all of the Bush party, with Mr. Simmons as manager, joined in constructing a combined saw and grist mill at the foot of the lower Tumwater fall, where the small steamers and rafts of timber could reach it at high tide. For the grist mill, the main question was a pair of grinding stones and these were secured from a granite boulder on the shore of Mud Bay, the western branch of Budd's Inlet, at the head of which Tumwater and (two miles north) Olympia are situated. A man named Hamm, a stone cutter by trade, worked out and dressed the stones for use. I have tried to find these but am told that one was allowed to sink into the mud near the old mill site, while the other was taken out to the Bush farm but it cracked to pieces many years ago and is now all gone.

It may be of interest to add that in the late seventies a man by the name of Horton originated the patent wood pipe industry in a mill on the site of the first mill.

In the same year of the first mill, in 1848,* was loaded the first cargo of freight for export from the head of the Sound. This was on the Brig Orbit which had just come from the East around the Horn, and for this also Bush and his party made up a cargo of piles and hand-sawed shingles, etc. The vessel had brought quite a quantity of supplies and these made the first respectable stock of goods for the little store which the party had started in connection with the mill.

The Bush family still possess and use an interesting relic of that first vessel. The Orbit brought out from the East two families named Rider and Moulton, and in their outfit were two fanning mills. So far as known, these were the first ever brought to the Sound and were certainly the first outside of Nisqually, the Hudson's Bay Company station for the Sound. As Bush was the greatest grain raiser and the new grist mill could not well get along without it, Mr. Bush secured one of these fanning mills and for some time all of the settlers who attempted to raise grain were permitted to use it. It is singular that this old hand mill, which was such an important and hard worked factor in the first settlement, should, sixty-five years later, still be as efficient as ever and still be a necessity for the grandchildren of the old pioneer. The other mill was secured by John R. Jackson who was the first settler in Cowlitz Valley and was also a former employe of the Hudson's Bay Company.

As I have said before, George Bush was not only remarkable for his

*The author is here in conflict with other writers. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Washington, Idaho and Montana, p. 15, and Lewis & Dryden, Marine History of the Pacific Northwest, p. 25 note, both give early January of 1850 as the time of the Orbit's arrival. Both agree that she was the first American vessel to arrive at the head of Puget Sound. These authors mention many names of the pioneers who had part in the transactions connected with the Orbit but they omit the name of Bush.—Editor.

time in the virtues of humanity, sympathy and wise justice, which virtues have been well kept by his descendants, but he had a rare power over the natives, and, while the different tribes often fought out their quarrels in the neighborhood, none of the Bush family or his party were ever molested, so long as they kept west of the Des Chutes river. Sanford Bush tells of one occasion when two tribes, numbering many hundreds, fought all day on the Bush farm but both sides promised not to injure the whites. As, however, the natives had only a few very poor guns and little ammunition, only a few were hurt and the battle consisted mostly of yells and insults.

I asked Sanford and Lewis about Chief Leschi. They say he often came to their place up to the time of the war, and as his mother belonged to the more fierce Yakimas of the trans-mountain tribes, so Leschi, like his brother, Chief Quiemuth, was more of a positive and aggressive character than his clam-digging followers, but was always friendly and respectful to those who treated him fairly.

It was during one of Leschi's visits to their place, about 1850, that one of the ponies was killed by some wild animal. The same thing had happened several times about the country, but none of the Indians nor any of the French trappers had, up to that time, ever seen any animal that was capable of the mischief. Mr. Bush set a large bear trap, that he had brought from Missouri, near the remains of the pony, and was fortunate enough to capture what proved to be a remarkably long bodied and long tailed cougar, the first, so far as the Bush brothers could learn, that had ever been seen on the Sound. In honor of the event, Leschi was allowed to take charge of removing and preparing the skin of the new kind of game.

Asked about the cause of the Indian war, which was started by Leschi on the ground that his people had been deceived and robbed in the outlining of their reservation on the Nisqually, Sanford and Lewis assert positively that all of the whites of the Tumwater and Bush prairie section were agreed that the Indians were badly wronged and there was much sympathy with the Leschi party. When the war opened, Leschi sent word to Bush, promising that none of the whites on the west side of the Des Chutes would be molested and this proved to be true, though all of the natives were in a restless condition over the trouble for many months.

The most critical experience that the Bush company had with the Indians was a few years before in May, 1849, when Pat Kanim, chief of the Snoqualmies, landed at Olympia with a great fleet of war canoes, and made it known that they were going to destroy all of the whites. In this emergency, a squaw went down and told them that Chief Bush had a terrible great gun that would sink all of the canoes as soon as they should come around what is now known as Capitol Point. This alarmed

the natives so much that they finally gave up their purpose and returned down Sound. It is only to be added that the "terrible gun" was a very heavy rifle, carrying an ounce ball, that Bush had brought from the East, and which kicked so badly that nobody dared fire it twice.

Mr. Bush carried on his farm with great success and kept the high respect and good will of all the settlement, until his death in 1867, at the age of 76, his wife having died in September the year before. His eldest son, William Owen, who succeeded his father as the recognized head of the family, was born in 1832 and was twelve years old when he crossed the plains. He had the same gentle virtues of his father and was always consulted in the affairs and politics of Thurston County. During the first state legislature of 1889-90, he was an active and influential member. While he carried on both logging and farming business, he was also greatly interested in the world fairs and at Philadelphia, Chicago and St. Louis took several notable prizes for his remarkable exhibits of Puget Sound productions, all raised on his farm. At the Centennial fair in 1876, he took the world's prize for wheat; and from the Chicago fair he brought back over two hundred kinds of grain which he raised in separate rows in one field.

Wm. Owen died in 1906 and his brother, Sanford, with two sons of Col. Simmons are all that are now left of the first American colony of Puget Sound.

JOHN EDWIN AYER.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

As announced in the January, 1915, Quarterly, a survey of the pioneer and historical societies of the State of Washington will be given each year. Effort has been made to get all the changes of officers for the year. Co-operation is desired with these organizations. Any news of historical work, of publications, the marking of historic sites, or the celebration of historic events, as well as changes in the officers of the societies listed will be welcomed by the Washington Historical Quarterly.

Following is a compilation of the societies:

WASHINGTON PIONEER ASSOCIATION. The headquarters are at Seattle. The officers for 1915 wewe W. H. Pumphrey, president; Edmond S. Meany, vice-president; W. V. Rinehart, secretary; W. M. Calhoun, treasurer; trustees: F. H. Winslow, M. R. Maddocks, W. V. Rinehart, James McCoombs, Leander Miller. This society is the most noted pioneer association in the state. The original membership requirements were residence on the coast prior to 1870; at present a person to become a member must have lived in the Territory forty years prior to date of application for membership. The actual membership of the society includes 531 women and 251 men, a total of 782. The records of the society, however, include as many more, as many of the older pioneers have failed to keep up their membership dues. The Association was founded October 23, 1883, at Olympia.

WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The headquarters are at 401 North Cliff Avenue, Tacoma. The officers for 1915 were Henry Hewitt, Jr., Tacoma, president; George Turner, Spokane, vice-president; W. P. Bonney, Tacoma, secretary; William H. Dickson, Tacoma, treasurer; curators: P. G. Hubbell, Tacoma; C. S. Barlow, Tacoma; L. L. Benbow, Sumner; W. J. Bowman, Puyallup; John Arthur, Seattle; Walter S. Davis, Tacoma; Walter N. Granger, Zillah; Harry M. Painter, Seattle; Thomas Huggins, Tacoma; L. F. Jackson, Pullman; W. D. Lyman, Walla Walla; Sarah S. McMillan-Patton, Hoquiam. For two years the society published the Washington Historical Magazine, now discontinued. It now publishes its "Proceedings." The society was founded October 8, 1891, and any citizen of the state may become a member.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The headquarters are at the University of Washington, Seattle. The officers

for 1915 were Clarence B. Bagley, president; Edmond S. Meany, secretary; Roger S. Greene, treasurer. Since October, 1906, the society has published the Washington Historical Quarterly. The society was founded at Seattle, January 1, 1903, and any person may become a member.

NATIVE DAUGHTERS OF WASHINGTON. The headquarters are at Seattle. The officers for 1914 were Nellie Russell, president; Julia N. Harris, vice-president. Any native daughter over sixteen may become a member.

NATIVE SONS OF WASHINGTON. This is a state organization but the number and location of the various camps are not known to the Quarterly. Alki Camp, No. 2, located at Seattle, had the following officers for 1914: Arthur R. Griffin, captain; T. C. Naylor, financial secretary and treasurer; F. L. Conners, historian.

NATIVE DAUGHTERS OF WASHINGTON PIONEERS. The headquarters are at Seattle. The officers for 1915 were Mrs. Rena Bagley Griffith, president; Miss Hilda Gaches, secretary. Any daughter of a pioneer who resided on the coast prior to 1870 is eligible to membership.

WOMEN'S PIONEER AUXILIARY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON. The headquarters are at Seattle. The officers for 1914 were Mrs. J. W. Denny, president; Mrs. H. O. Hollenbeck, secretary; Mrs. D. T. Davies, treasurer. The society meets four times each year. Membership is restricted to women who have resided in the State prior to 1889, the year of statehood.

ADAMS COUNTY. See Lincoln and Adams Counties.

BENTON COUNTY. Old Settlers' Union. The headquarters are at Prosser. The officers for 1914 were: G. W. Wilgus, president; A. G. McNeill, vice-president; M. Henry, secretary. The society has an annual meeting. Membership is restricted to those having a residence of twenty years in the County.

CHEHALIS COUNTY. See Grays Harbor County.

GRAYS HARBOR COUNTY. Pioneer Assiciation of Grays Harbor County. The headquarters are at Aberdeen. The officers for 1915 were: George Scammon, Westport, president; Mrs. Jean B. Stewart, Aberdeen, 1st vice-president; William E. Campbell, Hoquiam, 2d vice-president; J. W. Himes, Elma, 3d vice-president; Mrs. J. S. McKee, Hoquiam, secretary; Joseph Redman, Melbourne, treasurer. The association collects and preserves local historical documents. Membership is restricted to those resident in the County prior to January 1, 1885.

ABERDEEN PIONEER ASSOCIATION. The headquarters are at Aberdeen. The officers for 1914 were: Reverend Charles McDermoth, president; Mrs. Jannetta M. Walker, vice-president; Mrs. William Irvine, secretary; Mrs. J. G. Lewis, treasurer; Mrs. A. D. Wood, historian; trustees: Mrs. Jean B. Stewart, J. B. Haynes, J. G. Lewis, E. C. Finch and J. C. Smith. The society has four meetings, the annual meeting occurring in January and a memorial meeting on the first Sunday in March in memory of the members who have died during the year.

KING COUNTY. Seattle Historical Society. The headquarters of the society are at Seattle. The officers for 1915 were: Mrs. Morgan J. Carkeek, president; Mrs. William P. Trimble, vice-president; Mrs. Redick H. McKee, secretary; Mrs. William F. Prosser, treasurer; Mrs. Frederick E. Swanstrom, historian. The society has collected many manuscripts.

KITSAP COUNTY. Kitsap County Pioneers' Association. Organized at the Kitsap County Fair, October 10, 1914. The headquarters are at Charleston. The officers for 1915 were: H. M. Williams, Tracyton, president; Lillie L. Crawford, Charleston, secretary; Paul Mehner, Bremerton, treasurer. The annual meeting for the election of officers is held the third Wednesday in June, at Bremerton.

LINCOLN AND ADAMS COUNTIES. Lincoln and Adams County Pioneer and Historical Association. The headquarters of the society are at the office of the secretary at Davenport and the annual picnic and meeting is held at the society's grounds on Crab Creek. The officers for 1915 were: W. R. Peters, president, Ritzville; J. W. Sawyer, vice-president, Davenport; C. E. Ivy, secretary-treasurer, Davenport; E. W. Bethel, historian, Harrington; directors: J. H. Bartholomew, Reardan; Matt Brislawn, Sprague; S. E. McDonald, Harrington; Fred Thiel, Ritzville; George N. Lowe, Lamona.

OKANOGAN COUNTY. Okanogan County Pioneer Association. The headquarters are at Conconully. The officers for 1915 were: P. H. Pinkston, Conconully, president; David Gubser, Conconully, secretary; William C. Brown, Okanogan, historian.

PIERCE COUNTY. Pierce County Pioneers' Association. The headquarters are at Tacoma. The officers for 1915 were: Fred Bonney, president; Mrs. Addie Hill, vice-president; Mrs. Mary F. Bean, secretary; Mrs. Celia P. Grass, treasurer. Meetings are held in January, April, July and October. The society has erected monuments on historic sites. Local historical documents are deposited in the society's rooms in the State Historical Building. Membership is restricted to those who have resided on the Pacific Coast prior to 1870.

SAN JUAN COUNTY. San Juan County Pioneer Association. The headquarters are at Richardson. The officers for 1915 were: Charles McKay, Friday Harbor, president; Ervin Eaton, Islandale, vice-president R. L. Hummel, Port Stanley, secertary-treasurer; directors: C. A. Kent, Lopez; Stanley Kepler, West Sound; Bert Fowler, Shaw Island; William Reed, Decatur. The society was organized October 31, 1915, at Bloor Grove, Richardson, 65 persons taking part. Membership requirements and by-laws will be decided upon at the next meeting, which will occur at Bloor Grove, Richardson, June 20, 1916.

SNOHOMISH COUNTY. Stillaguamish Valley Association of Washington Pioneers. The headquarters are at Arlington. The officers for 1915 were: Dr. W. F. Oliver, president; D. O. Pearson, vice-president; M. M. McCaulley, secretary; Charles H. Tracy, treasurer. The annual meeting occurs the second Thursday in August.

SPOKANE COUNTY. Spokane County Pioneer Society. The headquarters are at Spokane. The officers for 1915 were: R. A. Hutchinson, president; S. A. Eslick, vice-president; Joseph S. Willson, secretary;; W. W. Waltman, treasurer. The above with John I. Daniels make the board of directors. There are four meetings a year including the annual outing. Membership is restricted to those who have resided in Spokane County prior to November 29, 1884.

STEVENS COUNTY. Stevens County Pioneer Association. The headquarters are at Colville. The officers for 1915 were: C. R. McMillan, Orin, president; Mrs. Clara Shaver, Colville, secretary; W. L. Sax, Colville, treasurer; John B. Slater, Colville, historian; trustees: Frank Habein, J. H. King, Thomas Graham, John L. Wheeler and George H. Knapp, all of Colville. The annual meeting is held on June 30, of each year. Membership restricted to those who were residents of the State prior to June 30, 1895.

THURSTON COUNTY. Pioneer and Historical Society of Thurston County. The headquarters are at Olympia. The officers for 1915 were: General Hazard Stevens, president; George N. Talcot, 1st vice-president; Allen Weir, secretary and curator; F. W. Stocking, treasurer. There is an annual gathering at Priest's Point, Olympia, in summer, also a meeting in March. The society gathers local historical documents which are kept with the curator. Membership is restricted to those having resided in the County prior to 1870.

WHATCOM COUNTY. Old Settlers' Association of Whatcom County. The headquarters of the society are at Pioneer Park, Ferndale. The officers for 1915 were: J. B. Wilson, President; T. B. Wynn, vice-

president; Miss Edith Thornton, secretary; W. E. Campbell, treasurer. The annual gathering, election of officers, etc., is in August, at Pioneer Park, Ferndale. Membership is restricted to those who have resided in Whatcom County ten years.

WHITMAN COUNTY. Whitman County Pioneers' Association. The headquarters are at Rosalia. The officers for 1915 were: M. H. West, Rosalia, president; M. W. Merritt, Rosalia, vice-president; Fred Stone, Rosalia, secretary; William Lippitt, Colfax, treasurer. The annual meeting is in June. Membership is restricted to those who were residents of the State prior to October, 1882.

YAKIMA COUNTY. Yakima Pioneers' Association. The headquarters are at North Yakima. The officers for 1916, elected on December 11, 1915, are: A. J. Splawn, president; David Longmire, 1st vice-president; James Beck 2nd vice-president; John H. Lynch, secretary; Mrs. Zona H. Cameron, treasurer; Mrs. A. J. Splawn, historian; directors: Mrs. D. D. Reynolds, Mrs. A. J. Splawn, Elmer B. Marks, Fred Parker and E. A. Cleman. The annual meeting has been changed from the second Saturday in December to the first Saturday in November. The annual dues are one dollar. Regular membership in the association is restricted to all citizens of white or Indian blood who were residents in the original County of Yakima prior to November 9, 1889, and their descendants. All documents are kept in the custody of the historian. The society has been working in conjunction with the Sons of the Ameircan Revolution and Daughters of the Revolution regarding the erection of monuments on historic sites. Persons not eligible to membership in the society but who are interested in its work may become associate members.

YAKIMA COLUMBIAN ASSOCIATION. This is a Catholic organization the headquarters and officers of which the Quarterly has been unable to ascertain. It is said to have as its principle object the preservation of the old St. Joseph Mission on the Atanum River.

VICTOR J. FARRAR.

THE PIONEER DEAD OF 1915

[This record has become a feature of each January issue of the Quarterly. For a number of years it was compiled by Thomas W. Prosch, himself a distinguished pioneer. On his death, his daughter, Edith G. Prosch, consented to continue this valuable service. She has followed the plan used by her father by scanning the newspapers for the announcements and selecting those cases for comment where the pioneer had come to the Pacific Coast as early at 1860 or earlier.—Editor]

Power, John M., was born in Ohio, September 23, 1835, and died at Oak Harbor, January 11, 1915. He came to Olympia from Iowa in 1859 and eventually settled as a farmer on Whidby Island.

Scholl, Mrs. Elizabeth Fulton, died in Walla Walla on the 5th of February at the age of 72. She came with her parents, Colonel and Mrs. James Fulton, from Mississippi in 1847. The family settled in Wasco County, Oregon, where they lived for half a century. She was married at The Dalles in 1863, to Louis Scholl, following his retirement from the United States Army. He afterwards took part in the Nez Perce War and was draftsman for General O. O. Howard. She is survived by three sons, Carl, Bismark and Louis.

Griffith, Mrs. Rebecca, died February 26 at the home of her sons near Crawford, Clarke County, Washington. She was born in Mississippi in 1837 and came to Oregon in 1843. She resided for a number of years in Douglas County, Oregon. The last years of her life were spent with her sons on a farm in Clarke County, Washington.

Mattoon, Mrs. Elizabeth Trullinger, was a pioneer of 1848. She crossed the plains with her parents, Daniel and Elizabeth Trullinger, in that year. The family settled in the Williamette Valley ten miles from Salem. In 1852 she married Runa Mattoon. She was born April 16, 1838, and died at the home of her son near Walla Walla, February 26, 1915.

Chase, Mrs. Caroline, died in Olympia, March 5, at the home of her son, Mr. C. D. King. She came to Puget Sound in 1855 and has resided in Olympia ever since that time.

Tollner, Mrs. Eliza J., who has lived on the Pacific Coast since 1849, died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. J. H. Irving, on the 7th of March. She was born in Ireland and came to America when she was two years old. Her husband was one of the first barbers in the North-

west. She came to Puget Sound from California in 1863, and has resided in Olympia and Seattle.

Phipps, William C., a pioneer of Oregon, died at the home of his son at Toppenish, Washington, March 10, 1915, as a result of injuries received when a conveyance in which he was riding was struck by a passenger train near Toppenish. He was born in Indiana in 1827, moved with his parents to Missouri, and crossed the plains with his bride in 1853. They located near Portland on a donation claim. Later he moved to LaFayette, then to North Yamhill, and still later to Polk County, Oregon. His four children settled in central Washington, and this brought him from his Oregon home to the country around North Yakima, where his life was ended.

Folsom, Col. Frederick W., died on March 8 at Junction City, Oregon. He went to California in 1857. He remained there for only a month, coming that year to Portland and Walla Walla. His residence in Washington was of short duration, most of his life being spent in the Willamette Valley.

Torrance, Mrs. Mary Jane, was the daughter of Lot Whitcomb, who, with Berryman Jennings and S. S. White, built the steamer Lot Whitcomb at Milwaukie in 1850, the first American-owned steamer to run on the Willamette and Columbia Rivers. Mrs. Torrance was born in 1833. Her husband was also one of the earliest steamboat men of Oregon. In 1875 the Torrance family removed to Eastern Washington and Mrs. Torrance died in Spokane on March 8.

Leonard, Mrs. Eva Hanselman, died in Tacoma, March 11. She was born in Vancouver, Washington, November 30, 1854, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Phillip Hanselman. Her father was a veteran of the Mexican and Indian Wars. He came as a soldier to the United States garrison at Steilacoom in 1859, and his family resided there until his term expired, when they moved out on the prairie near the Flett homestead. After Mrs. Leonard's marriage to Winfield S. Leonard she moved to Steilacoom and later to Tacoma.

Manville, Mrs. Adaline, died at the age of 80 years on March 11, at her home in Tacoma. She was born in Pennsylvania and in 1853 came with her family to Oregon in the pioneer train of Capt. Medorem Crawford. She was married in 1859, and in 1882 located on a farm near Tumwater. She was the mother of eleven children.

DeVore, Mrs. Evelyn Babb, widow of Rev. John F. DeVore, the builder of the first Protestant Church in Washington, died in Tacoma, March 15. She was born in Ohio in 1829, one of thirteen children. Her

sister, Jane, married John F. DeVore, a Methodist minister. They came to Puget Sound in 1853, Evelyn accompanying them. In 1860 Mrs. DeVore died, and in 1861 Evelyn married her brother-in-law. They lived at Steilacoom, Olympia and The Dalles, Portland, Seattle and Tacoma, where Mr. DeVore died in 1889. Mrs. DeVore was one of the first school teachers in Steilacoom. She is survived by one son, George.

Prosch, Thomas W., who with his wife, Miss M. L. Denny and Mrs. H. F. Beecher, lost his life on the 30th of March in an automobile accident at Allentown, on the Duwamish River, was born in Brooklyn, New York, June 2, 1850. He was the only surviving child of Charles and Susan Prosch, and came with his parents to the Pacific Coast in 1855. From San Francisco the family moved to Steilacoom in 1859, where his father published the Puget Sound Herald. In 1872 Thomas W. Prosch became the owner of the Pacific Tribune, then published in Olympia. Later he moved it to Tacoma, and still later to Seattle. Selling that paper, he, with Samuel L. Crawford, bought the Intelligencer in 1879. In 1881 they bought the Post and merged the two into the Post-Intelligencer. When he sold his interest in this paper he devoted his time to his private affairs, and to writing articles concerning the Pacific Northwest. For two years he was postmaster of Seattle, receiving his appointment from President Grant.

Prosch, Virginia McCarver, was born April 17, 1851, at Oregon City. She was the daughter of Gen. Morton M. McCarver, who founded Tacoma. Her father was a pioneer of 1843, and her mother of 1847. The family lived in Oregon and Idaho before coming to Washington, the final home.

Denny, Miss Margaret Lenora, daughter of Arthur A. Denny, founder of Seattle, was born in Illinois in 1847, and came with her parents to Oregon in 1851. The family embarked at Portland on the schooner Exact and landed at Alki Point November 13, 1851. Miss Denny was well-known and beloved for her gifts to charity, never failing to respond to the many calls upon her sympathy and generosity. The extent of her gifts to charity, and to affairs of historic interest in the State, will never be known.

McMillin, Capt. Thomas H., died in Seattle in April. He was the son of Rev. and Mrs. D. R. McMillin and was born in Marion County, Oregon, in 1858. The family moved to Washington in 1862, residing at Kent for many years. Captain McMillin early became interested in steamboating, and followed this calling for thirty years. He built nine steamers during his life.

Olson, Gustav, was a pioneer of 1849, going to California with the

gold seekers. He was born in Norway in 1828, and came to America in 1842. He came to Seattle in 1867, but business necessitated his return to California, where he remained until 1887. He spent much of his time, during the later years of his life, at his home on Bainbridge Island. He died in Seattle, April 28.

Landry, Rene, was born in Arcadia, Quebec, Canada, December 5, 1827. His family were among the earliest of the French settlers of that province. Landry went to St. Louis in 1847, and in 1850 he crossed the plains to California. The Fraser River gold excitement brought him to the Northwest and he lived at Fruitland, Washington, for thirty years. He died in Colville early in April, after a lingering illness of many months.

Downey, Robert M., a resident of Pierce County since 1853, died in Tacoma in May, 1915. The Downey family settled in Pierce County, taking up a donation claim. Warned by friendly Indians of an intended massacre of the whites, the family moved to Steilacoom, where they resided for many years. Mr. Downey was born in Kentucky, November 23, 1841.

Cooper, Mrs. Isaac, died suddenly in California, where she had gone to see the Exposition. Mrs. Cooper was widely known for her work in church and philanthropic circles. She was born in San Francisco in 1856, and she resided in Idaho before coming to Seattle, her home for many years. Her death occurred on May 5. She was president of the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society for many years, and also president of the Council of Jewish Women and Ladies' Auxiliary of the Temple de Hirsch, and she was an active worker in the Charity Organization Society.

Constable, Mrs. Frances, who died at Cathlamet, Washington, May 20, crossed the plains to Oregon in 1849. She was twelve years old at the time. She has resided in Wahkiakum County for forty years.

Cavitt, Mrs. Lydia, died May 19 at her home at Camas, Washington. She was born in 1848 and went to California in 1853. She came to the Northwest forty years ago.

Byrd, George W., was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Byrd, who came to Puget Sound in 1853. His father took up a claim on Lake Steilacoom, and built the first grist mill in the county. Byrd's Mill was a landmark for many years. George Byrd was born in Illinois, March 7, 1843, and died at his home at Fern ~~Hill~~, June 17.

Hill, Captain John S., died at Wallace, Idaho, June 19. He was a sea captain and came around the Horn in 1850. He settled at an early date on Commencement Bay. Captain Hill was one of the first men to operate a steamboat on Puget Sound. He was 83 at the time of his death.

Longmire, Elcaine, proprietor of the famous Longmire Springs, and a member of one of the oldest families of Pierce County, died at the Springs after a year's illness, on June 21. He was born in Indiana and came to the Sound with his parents in 1853. He was a member of the first immigrant train that crossed the Cascades by way of the Naches Pass. He was 74 years old, and is survived by a widow and eleven children.

Lloyd, Mrs. Jane, aged 77, died at her home in Colfax, June 26. With her husband, she crossed the plains from Iowa to Benton County, Oregon, in 1851, moving to Waitsburg, Washington, in 1860, and to Colfax in 1871. Her husband died twenty-nine years ago. She leaves six sons and three daughters.

Bogue, Mrs. Gilbert, died at her home in Seattle, June 21. She was born in San Francisco nearly sixty years ago. When she was two years old her parents decided to return to New York. Their vessel was wrecked while passing Cape Horn and her father was lost. She was married to Judge Bogue in Iowa, and the family came to Seattle in 1892.

Nation, Mrs. Matilda, who has lived on the Pacific Coast since 1860, passed away on June 22. She was a native of England and was 88 years old at the time of her death. She lived in San Francisco for a number of years, coming to Seattle in 1876.

Henry, Dudley S. B., died in Olympia on July 5, at the age of 73. He crossed the plains in 1852 with his parents. His father, Anson B. Henry, was surveyor-general of Washington Territory, receiving his appointment from President Lincoln.

Forbes, Jared, a native of Philadelphia, came to this coast by way of the Isthmus of Panama in the year 1852. In 1865 he made a horseback trip from San Francisco through Oregon to Puget Sound, and from there to Walla Walla. He moved to Seattle in 1901. Mr. Forbes was the last of five brothers, all of whom lived to be octogenarians.

Masterson, Mrs. M. G., died at her home at Grand Mound, Washington, July 26. She was born near Centralia in 1857, her parents being early French-Canadian settlers there.

Smith, Dr. Henry A., a pioneer physician, who was prominently identified with the development of the Pacific Northwest, died August 17, at his home at Smith's Cove, in Seattle. He made the trip by ox team from Ohio in 1852. Dr. Smith took part in the Indian Wars, being one of the last survivors of the Battle of Seattle. At one time he was resident physician at the Tulalip Indian Reservation.

Collier, W. H., who died August 16, was born in Georgia in 1847. At the age of twelve he came to Puget Sound on the vessel of which his

father was master. His stay was short at that time (1859), but he returned to Seattle to make it his home in 1874. He was a marine engineer. Mr. Collier is survived by a widow, four daughters and two sons.

Neely, David Franklin, a native son of Washington, died August 28. He was born in King County in 1857. His family came to the White River Valley in 1856, taking up a claim near Kent. The Indian War compelled them to abandon their claim for three years, the family living in Seattle during that time.

Bruce, James W., was born at Eugene, Oregon, in 1859. He was taken from Oregon when two years old to the valley adjacent to Waitsburg. There his father took up a claim. The son followed farming and acquired valuable agricultural holdings in the Walla Walla country.

Strong, Gen. James Clark., was born in Ontario County, N. Y., on May 6, 1826. At his death, in Oakland, Cal., September 3, 1915, he had nearly reached his ninetieth birthday. He came to Oregon in 1849 with his brother, William, who had been appointed a judge for the new Territory. James Strong was living at Cathlamet, Wahkiakum County, when the representative to the first Territorial Legislature of Washington from that county died. Another was elected and died as he took the oath of office. Then Strong was elected. When he died, the last survivor of that first Legislature had gone. He had had experience in the Indian Wars and later in the Civil War.

Rudio, Peter, a native of Germany, was a gold seeker of 1849. Mr. Rudio was born near Strasburg in 1825, coming to the United States in 1825. He was married at Corvallis, Oregon, in 1854. He died at Centralia, September 25, and was buried in Walla Walla.

Bucklin, Nathan, a pioneer of 1859, died at his home near Eagle Harbor, September 11. He was born in Maine in 1839. His first home on Puget Sound was at Seabeck, moving from there to Eagle Harbor.

Lindsley, Mrs. Abbie Denny, daughter of Mrs. Louisa Boren Denny, was born August 29, 1858, in Seattle, seven years after her parents, Mr. and Mrs. David T. Denny, had helped to found the city. She was well known as a writer, using the pen-name, Chelana. She was also skilful as a painter. Mrs. Lindsley had been seriously ill for two years before her death, at her home on Lake Chelan. Beside her husband, three daughters and a son, she leaves her mother, a sister, Miss Emily Inez Denny, and two brothers, D. T. Denny and Victor Denny.

Wallace, Mrs. Esther Tallentire, was the widow of Captain David Wallace, a well-known sea captain of the Pacific Coast. Mrs. Wallace was born in Portland in 1846, her parents, Thomas and Agnes Tallentire,

having crossed the plains in 1845. Her parents moved to Steilacoom in 1851. Her husband was master and pilot on the Sound as early as 1858, and later sailed to California for many years. Mrs. Wallace died October 11 at the home of her daughter.

Cann, Judge Thomas Hart, died October 25. He was a native of Illinois. He went to California in 1854. He followed a gold rush from California to the Snake River in Washington. He became express messenger for Wells-Fargo, carrying gold between the mines and Lewiston. It was a perilous life, full of thrilling adventures, which the Judge enjoyed recalling in later years. He moved to Seattle thirty-five years ago, after pioneering in California, Oregon, Idaho and Washington.

Patton, John C., a native of Cowlitz County, died at his home in Kelso, the latter part of October. Mr. Patton was born on the Leonard homestead, which now forms a part of West Kelso, November 15, 1859. His widow, a daughter and his mother survive him.

Laman, Mrs. Agnes Woolery, of Walla Walla, ided in Seattle, November 28. Mrs. Laman was a member of the Ezra Meeker party which came to Steilacoom in 1853. She was then a child of eight. She was born in Missouri. After her marriage to J. D. Laman, she moved to Walla Walla, which thereafter was her home.

Eustace, Michael, aged 85, died in Puyallup early in November. He was the last of a pioneer family, who settled in Pierce County sixty-five years ago. They took up a claim at Spanaway and Michael Eustace lived there continuously until a year ago, when he moved to Puyallup. He was a native of Ireland. His wife was a daughter of John Rigny, another of the early settlers of Pierce County.

Heisen, Mrs. Mary E., a resident of Clarke County since 1850, died November 28 at Yacolt, Washington, aged 81. She came to Oregon by way of the Isthmus of Panama, when she was 16 years old.

Murray, Mrs. Hester Clark, a pioneer of 1852, died at the old homestead at American Lake, December 5, at the age of 75. She was born in Missouri and when she was fifteen she came to Oregon. The party in which she traveled was visited by cholera; and she lost her parents and a brother. The other children were taken to Rickreal, Oregon, and were cared for by the Nesmith family. In 1871 she married Garm Murray, and they moved to Pierce County, where they took up a claim on Muck Creek, near American Lake.

Impett, William Robert, was a pioneer of 1857. He was born in Philadelphia, but early was taken to Canada. He was sent to England to finish his education and from there went to New Zealand and Australia.

From Australia he went to California, and at the time of the Caribou gold excitement he visited the mines in British Columbia. In 1860 he moved to Seattle, where he established his home. He was 81 years old when he died, December 8.

Allen, Robert Perry, who crossed the plains in 1854, died in Griggsville, Illinois, at the age of 86. He was on Puget Sound during the early fifties, but of late years has made his home in Illinois.

Willis, Edwin A., a native of England, died in Ellensburg at the age of 82. He came to America from England in 1854, and joined the regular army. In California he enlisted in Company G, Third Artillery, in 1855 and was sent the following year to the scene of Indian disturbances, near Spokane. After the Indian War he engaged in business at The Dalles, and in 1883 he went to Ellensburg, which has since been his home. There he engaged in the mercantile business. He died on the 13th of December.

Reed, Silas Amory, 88 years old, died in Seattle, December 26. Mr. Reed went to California in 1849, where he engaged in mining for a number of years. He moved to Seattle in 1891.

Morse, Captain George W., died at his home in Oak Harbor, December 23. Captain Morse came of a ship-building, sea-faring family of Maine. At the age of nine his father took him on a voyage to Europe. In 1850 the young man shipped on the Macedonia to San Francisco, and then by India, around the world. On his return he again shipped for California. At the Golden Gate he gave up sailing, going in to the mines, where he engaged in freighting. In 1858 he visited the Fraser River mines. When that excitement was over he moved to Washington, living for a time on the Nooksack River, and later at Oak Harbor. For a time he was sub-Indian agent at Tulalip. He was a member of the first State Legislature, and was returned to three of the later sessions. He was 85 years old.

Cooper, Charles, of Cooper Brothers' Logging Company, died at the logging camp on Hood Canal, December 28. He was born in 1860, near Port Ludlow, Washington. He went to Alaska in 1900, where he remained four years, after which he returned to Hood Canal, where he has since been continuously engaged in the logging business.

EDITH G. PROSCH.

DOCUMENTS

Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833

INTRODUCTION

In this third installment of the document here being published for the first time, the same care has been used to remain faithful to the original manuscript and to add footnotes only where the record seems to need explanation or where additional information is deemed advisable. It is planned to conclude the first volume of these journals in the next installment.

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY.

(Continued from the Quarterly for October, 1915, page 278.)

[MAY] 1834. [page 73][79]

to return on their road and remain at Nesq]uall[y until further orders. In the evening we all reached the Fort which we found under the management of three masters viz Ouvre Trader Brown Store Keeper, and Pierre Charles Master of works. On my arrival I assumed the whole duty and ordered the men to prepare for building up the place. The Indians arfe few. fair weather—

19th Monday The men at the place are nine in number, namely Ouvre Charles, William Brown, Plomondon, Louis Sagohaneuchta, Silvan Bourgeau, Aneweskum—McDonald, John McKee and Tai. Most of them employed at taking down the frame of a kitchen and erecting it into a better situation. Besides this building there are the dwelling house of 50 feet by 21 twenty feet of which is floored &c and was the residence of the Gentleman in charge, the rest of it without flooring. A store of thirty feet very imperfect and another building of the same size [for] the men. The Bastions are good, but not complete, wanting the roof. Inventory of Goods on hand taken as also the Furs, the later as follows 180 Large Beaver, 42 Small, 4½ [ ] Cuttings ditto 8 Bearsfi 44 Otters, 9 Fishers, 153 rats and 21 Racoons. Passing showers of rain in course of the day

[79] Owing to the bookbinder's blunder the pages of the Nisqually Journal containing the records from March 2 to May 19 have been left out of the present volume, and other pages, quite irrelevant, have been substituted. These pages have been numbered with the rest, and the Journal is continued in this issue as page 73, page 72 being left blank.

20th Thursday. Five men out squaring wood fir a dwelling house, the present one to be taken down and made a store of. [Page 74] The rest of the men employed in the kitchen. Weather as yesterday.

May 21 [1834] Wednesday. The same duty for the men. Traded a few skins. The weather cloudy in the morning, some hail fell and it thundered.

2 Thursday. Pierre Charles, Brown and Tai were employed at making a chimney, McKee was hauling Earth for the same, and the rest squaring wood. A few Indians arrived to trade. Rained some in the forenoon.

23rd Friday. The men employed as yesterday. Traded 13 Beaver skins and an Otter. Rained all day.

24th Saturday. The men employed at changing the doors of their dwellings so as to have them facing the square, The Gable end of the Indian shop and that of the men's house, facing it, were plastered and whitewashed. The end of the men's house made into an Indian Hall. The Chimney of the Kitchen completed and part of the roof on. Fair at intervals—

25th Sunday. Every Body at rest about the place. Twenty Indians were dancing in front of the Fort in honor of the day. Fair weather.

26th Monday. Plomondon, Louis, McDonald and Ta-i were all employed squaring. Brown and Bourgeau were plastering the house and P. Charles completing the roof and flooring. [page 75] McKee was hauling logs and water Ouvre, as usual, attending to the Indians. Traded 85 pieces of Cedar Bark for roofing the store. Venison and fresh salmon were also got for ammunition. Fair weather.

27th Tuesday. The same routine as yesterday. Traded a few Beaver Skins. Fine warm weather.

28th Wednesday. The Kitchen now completed and looks like a farmer's cottage. Changed my place of residence for the above. The men were employed taking down the Bourgeois house, two squaring, and two sawing wheels for a new wagon. Indians bring a few fresh salmon which are small and traded at two Ball & Powder a very dear price— Clear and very warm weather.

29th Thursday. The same works going on as yesterday. Rained much today.

30th Friday. No change in the employment of the men. The Princess' husband arrived and brought us Letters from Vancouver, en-

closing others from London, all's well. The Brig Lama[71] is on her way hither. Fair weather.

31st Saturday. The square of the new store commenced, and the wood for the new dwelling all squared. In the afternoon the men were put at cleaning the Fort. [Page 76] The trade since my arrival, as follows, 43 Large Beaver 10 Small do. 2 lb Cuttings do—5 Large Black Bears—1 Small Black do—2 Fishers—5 Minks—49 Musquash—17 Otters—29 Racoons—2 Lynx—1 Dressed Red Deer Skin—18 Dressed Chev do—12 fresh salmon and 300 lbs Venison. More Indians have arrived to trade. Fair weather. [page 77]

June 1st [1834] Sunday. All hands at rest. Indians as last Sabbath passed the day here dancing in honor of it. Very warm weather.

2 Monday. Plomondon[72] and another man were busy covering the bastions, two men off for Cedar Bark, one hauling logs and the rest employed about the Store. Indians trade as usual. Fair weather.

3 Tuesday. The same duty for the men. Two Indian Chiefs arrived from the northward and brought a few skins to trade. Very warm weather.

4th Wednesday. The Bastions completed and Plomondon was set to making doors for the store. P. Charles, Louis, McKee, Brown and Ta-I all were busy at squaring wood for flooring the store. The men out at getting bark have done little or nothing. Fair weather.

5th Thursday. From the want of provisions I had to send Plomondon and P. Charles out hunting deer, across to the Island. Got the road to the Sound completed, and the Oxen have brought up all the Bark lying on the Beach. One man with all the women were employed hoeing earth about the Potatoes. Louis Sagohaneuchta sick. Traded 9 Beaver skins from two Yackanaws. Fine weather—[page 78]

June 6 [1834] Friday. All the men again employed at reducing

[71] The Lama or Llama is as interesting as her commander. In 1832, William McNeill a Boston Yankee and his brig Llama entered the Columbia River ostensibly for the purpose of trading with the Indians. Instead of blankets, capots and cloth—staples of Indian commerce—the Llama carried every toy and contraption which might appeal to the vanity of the child of the forest, and a goodly store of firewater as well. Whether McNeill's purpose was actually to compete with the Hudson Bay Company or to play his little game with Chief factor McLoughlin, will never be known. Nevertheless, the latter saw no way to rid himself of this nuisance than to buy the vessel and to entice her captain into the service. It has been claimed that McNeill was on the coast as early as 1816. He was actually in Oregon in 1826, and after his connection with the Hudson Bay Company served faithfully as captain of the Llama, his intimate knowledge of the coast rendering him a most valued man. Afterward he commanded the Nereid, and later the Beaver. He retired from the service in 1861, while in charge of Fort Simpson, to Victoria, B. C., where he had property, and died in 1875. In the meantime he had become a British citizen.

[72] Simon Plomondon, or Plomondeau, entered the service of the company in 1821, and although a servant, knowing neither how to read or write, was associated with three important historical events. In 1827 he was a member of the McMillan party which founded Fort Langley on the Fraser River; in 1837 he was retired to the Cowlitz Prairie by McLoughlin, and in a way became the forerunner of Cowlitz Farm; in 1841 he conducted Wilkes overland from Cowlitz Farm to Astoria.

the hill to the Sound which was found yet too steep for the Oxen. Indian came in to trade. It rained a little.

7th Saturday Got the Indian Corn hoed up. Plomondon and P Charles absent since the 5th have this evening arrived with the meat of two animals. McDonald and Bourgeau have also come home with only 100 pieces Cedar Bark. Weather cloudy and a little rain fell.

8th Sunday. All quiet about us. No Indians. The weather fair.

9th Monday. The men resumed squaring logs for the Store and roofing this building. About 2 P. M. we heared a couple of Cannon shot, soon after I started in a canoe with six men, and went on board the "*Llama*" with the pleasure of taking Tea with McNeill who pointed out two Chineese he picked up from the Natives near Cape Flattery where a vessel of that Nation had been wrecked not long since. There is still, one, amongst the Indians, Inland but a promise was made of getting the poor fellow on the Coast by the time the "Llama" gets there.[73] The Captain says he had a fair voyage from the Columbia. Cloudy weather. [p.79]

10th [1834] Tuesday. The men busy as usual. The Llama now anchored opposite the road and preparations made for the Cargo and Cattle. The Indians are now poring upon us however they are all friendly. To day it rained.

11th Wednesday. All the Outfit safely landed and received in Store.

The Cattle were also got they are very wild and wicked, one of the cows wounded one of the men (Brown) in the Testicles and nearly killed a couple more. The Cattle received are three Cows with their Calves and a Bull. It rained at intervals—

12th Thursday. The men kept at covering the store. Gave out the mens private orders. The 'Llama' has taken in five horses for Fort Langley where she is to go next. Charitable donations given us by Captain Mc Neill of great use, say, a couple Iron Pins for our waggons and about one fathm of Bower Cable (Chain) The Llama has taken in more fresh water. More showers today.

13th Friday. The work getting on well. Captain Mc Neill off. Traded a few Beaver skins. Fair weather.

[73] The news of this disaster was conveyed to the officials at Vancouver in the form of a piece of China-paper on which was a drawing showing the three shipwrecked persons, the junk on the rocks, and the Indians engaged in plundering. Thomas McKay with thirty men was sent overland to Cape Flattery but got only as far as Point Grenville when they gave up the task as impossible. Captain McNeill in the Llama then set out for the wreck and enticing some of the natives aboard his vessel held them as hostages for the return of the three. They proved to be Japanese. According to Wilkes they were sent to England and thence carried to China, where they ultimately remained in consequence of their inability to procure passage to Japan.

14th Saturday. The goods put into the main store now nearly done. The men variously employed all day. The weather fair [page 80]

June 15 [1834] Sunlay. The day passed away in quietness. No Indians to trouble us. Fair weather.

16th Monday. Pierre Charles, Bourgeau, Mc Donald and an Indian have all gone to the Island to get Cedar Bark. Plomondon and Louis busy completing the store which job was done by noon. Ouvre attending to the Indians Brown and Mc Kee sick, the former from his late blow from a Cow, and latter suffering much with a violent sore thumb. Ouvre always doing a little about the place besides watching the Indians with myself. Ta-i, our other man is off with the Llama to Fort Langley. Indians come in by degrees to trade. Fair weather.

17 Tuesday. Plomondon with his man Louis began working at the wood for the new dwelling house; Brown was also assisting them. Mc Kee still very bad. Fair weather.

18 Wednesday. The same work for the men, excepting Mc Donald who I have ordered home for going to Vancouver with Letters. Indians keep going and coming for the sake of Trade. The weather fair.

19 Thursday. No change in the duties of the place. About noon Mc Donald and Plomondon's slave started for Vancouver with Letters informing Mr. Chief Factor Mc Loughlin our state of affairs here. The men at the Cedar Bark getting on well. Fair weather. [page 81]

20th [June] Friday. The men still employed at ther various duties. Sent a couple of Indians lad to Pierre Charles for the purpose of assisting getting Cedar Bark. In the evening they both came home with 159 pieces Bark. The Indians from distant quarters come and go every time trading a few skins. Very warm weather.

21 Saturday. The men at the Cedar have come home and their week's job is 600 very well for only three men including an Indian. Few Indians have come from toward the Cowlitz and report that the ague is raging in that quarter. Ouvre's Brother in Law gone to Vancouver with Mc Donald. The weather fair.

22nd Sunday. The Sabbath kept as usual. The Indians that are about keep out. Very warm weather.

23rd Monday. Bourgeau with a couple of Indians have gone to gather more Cedar Bark. Pierre Charles has been busy at repairing the Boat. Plomondon, Brown and Louis working at the new Building. Ouvre doing sundry jobs besides attending to the Indians Mc Kee still very unwel with his left hand thumb, yet gets in water and brought up the Bark with his Oxen. The Indians are doing well and support us in meat. I have already one Cask Salted. Fair and very warm weather. [page 82]

June 24 [1834] Tuesday. Sent Pierre Charles to join his party

at the Cedar Bark. Plomondon with his men getting up the new house. Indians are always about us and bring us a few things to trade. Fair weather.

25th Wednesday. The same duty with the men. Plomondon's Brother-in-Law got this morning a thrashing for his insolence to the men and was turned out of the Fort. Weather as usual.

26th Thursday. About a dozen of Cowlitz Indians arrived last evening with a few skins. They commenced to day to trade and of course very troublesome their Chiefs the greatest beggars I have known. In the evening Pierre Charles arrived with his party 500 pieces of Bark got by them which now makes 1100 pieces besides what was put on the store. Very warm weather.

27th Friday. The men kept at their employment About one P. M. Aniaveskum Mc Donald arrived from Vancouver with Letters. The Brigade from the Interior had arrived at that place on the 16th Inst. under Chief Factor Dease, accompanied by Messrs. Black and S. Mc Gillivery, all well in those quarters.[74] The weather very warm.

28th Saturday. Trade continued with the Cowlitz Indians and I am happy to say that it [page 83] was got over without much trouble at last, though yesterday I turned several out of the shop. Fair weather.

29 Sunday. Indians all away and the day was got over without seeing any. Cloudy weather.

30 Monday. Still employed at the new dwelling house. More Indians have come to trade, and everything got on in quietness. This month returns are as follows, viz

127 Large Beaver
48 Small do.
1½ lb Cutting do.
8 Large Black Bear
2 Small " do.
5 Fisher
5 Lynx
8 Minks
81 Musquash
45 Large Otters
2 Small do

74 The party were from New Caledonia and each of the three mentioned was an important personage, hence, the notice in the Nisqually Journal. Chief-factor Peter Warren Dease received his appointment to New Caledonia in 1831, succeeding William Connolly. He remained there until 1835 when Peter Skeen Ogden became chief factor. Samuel Black was formerly of the Northwest Company and most of his time was spent in command at Fort Kamloops. He was an all round man and especially skilled in geology and geography. He was killed by an Indian lad in 1841. Simon McGillivray figured very prominently in the consolidation of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies in 1821.

47 Raccoons
15 Cheveran Skins
10 Fresh Salmon
528 lbs Venison. [page 84]

July 1st Tuesday. The square of the new house up, it is thirty two feet by 18 and nine feet post from the foundation which being two feet higher than the ground makes it 11 feet altogether. This afternoon we were surprised at the arrival of a Chief by name Chalicum with Letters from Mr. Yale who sends me some Iron work wanted here, and informs me that having no Potatoes, the Llama would not touch here on her way back to Vancouver. The Chief was well received and is now encampel for the night and tomorrow the day he leaves us. Very warm weather.

2nd Wednesday. The men employed at making two Chimneys in the new building. Traded about twenty Beaver skins from the Indians now come with the Chief Challicum. Had made my packages for sending by the Llama but as she is not coming I have taken the Bales of Furs asunder in order to build them up into packs of 90 lbs for land transportation.

3rd Thursday. The same employment for the men as yesterday, making Chimneys and Packs. Fair weather.

4th Friday. The men employed as usual Indians all off the ground Send a young man for horses in order to get returns across the portage. Fairweather and very warm. [page 85]

5th Saturday. Got the Chimnies completed and the men were at work squaring for the flooring of the house. Brown was employed about the potatoes. John Mc Kee still sick with the sore hand. Cloudy and some rain.

6th Sunday. All quiet about us. Indians do not trouble us as formerly with their dance. Fair weather.

7th Monday. The men employed covering the house excepting Brown and Bourgeau who were busy at hoing up the potatoes. Traded 4 horses for the purpose of carrying our packs over the portage. Cheaper method then hiring them. Fairweather.

8th Tuesday. The Indians away again. The House completely covered and looks well though done with Bark. Fair weather.

9th Wednesday. Pierre Charles, Bourgeau and Brown off to Vancouver with the returns on hand amounting to as follows

399 Large Beaver
86 Small do
11 lbs Cutting [do]
16 Fishers
5 Lynx

276 Musquashs
109 Large Otters & 3 Small Do.
5 " Blk Bear
19 Chev Skins [page 86]

of the forementioned number of Beaver and Otters the following belong to this month.

32 Large Beaver
3 Small "
1 lb Cutting "
8 Large Otters
1 Small do.

The rest of the men that is to say Plomondon, Mc Donald and Louis were employed about squaring wood for the flooring of my new dwelling house Ouvre attends at sundry jobs and the Indians. Mc Kee still unable to work. Fairweather.

July 10th Thursday. The same employment for the men This afternoon in taking my round about the place saw a most miserable object in a poor child, ruptured, and in starving state. Gave it a covering and ordered some food, with instructions to the Indians to take better care of their children or they would suffer for their brutality. Fair and very warm.

11th Friday. All last night the Indians nigh us were singing to a medicine man who was doing his best in the killing of Plomondon's wife who has been sick for some time, I have endeavored to stop the business but believe to no purpose as she is bent on getting blowed by her countryman. Fair weather. [page 87]

12 Saturday. The men still continue at their work excepting Plomondon who is busy at watching his wife. A few Indians arrived and traded a few skins. Fair weather.

13th Sunday. All quiet about us. The Indians have all gone away to their different homes. Warm weather.

14 Monday. Louis and Mc Donald at work about a flooring for the Indian Hall. The rest of the men very little employed. Some indians arrived and brought us a little fresh meat which looks fat. Fair weather.

15 Tuesday. Plomondon with his two men resumed squaring wood for flooring the new house Ouvre and McKee have been employed at taking down the roof and Chimnies of the Indian hall in order to get it done better. Trade a few skins from Indians near us. A Cowlitz and family arrived and being a murderer is much afraid of his life. The Chickelitz Chief made his appearance two days ago with a few skins, he

said that fear made him come here instead of going to the Chinooks.[75] From him we got 10 Beaver skins and a couple of Otters. Fine clear weather but warm

16th Wednesday. The men employed making Chimnies in the Indian house. The Cowlitz off. Fair weather. [page 88]

July 17 [1834] Thursday. The men were employed as yesterday. An Indian of the Chinkalitz[76] tribe arrived with a few skins. Fair weather.

18th Friday. Plomondon and the rest of the men completed the Chimnies and got roofing sticks for the house now in repair. Indian trade as usual. Cloudy weather.

19th Saturday. The house covered, and the fort put into some order for the Sabbath. Some rain fell.

20th Sunday. The Chickalitz Indian and family off. Plomondons wife has been unwell some time, and all her care is to give away property to Indian Doctors for curing her, though at times she applys to me for medicines, which are given, but the relief she gets is attributed to her Doctors. Fair weather.

21 Monday. Plomondon, Louis and Anawiskum were employed at the floor of the Gentlemen's house. Ouvre and Mc Kee plastering the Indian house Traded five Beaver from a couple of Indians who are from the *Too-an-noo* tribe.[77] The weather cloudy.

22nd Tuesday. Plomondon and Louis assaying the floor above stated. Anawiskum squaring wood for the floor of the Indian hall. Ouvre and Mc Kee still plastering. [page 89] Got the meat of an animal and a couple of Chevino skins from an Indian of the Mount Renier. Many of the natives about us are living on berries which are numerous—Fair weather.

23 Wednesday. The same employment for the men. Late in the afternoon Pierre Charles and Party arrived from Vancouver with the small requests from that place. I am informed by Mr. Chief Factor Mc Loughlin that the furs sent were recd at his place in good order. The Ague there not severe, and all is well. Very warm weather.

24 Thursday. Began flooring the Indian hall which work is done by McKee & Ouvre. Laves on the sick list. Fair weather.

25 Friday. The Indian hall finished Men as usually employed about the place. Traded a few skins. Laahlette arrived from the Yacka-

75 Chehalis. It is a well attested fact that the Chinook Indians endeavored to secure the trade with the posts for themselves and forced the interior Indians to bring their furs to them instead of carrying them directly to the post.

76 Chehalis.

77 The Twana which dwelt on both shores of Hood Canal.

naw[78] and says that the Brigade passed up the river seven nights ago. The weather continues warm.

26 Saturday. We this day completed the flooring of Ouvre's house which is attached to the Indian hall. The weather really very warm.

27 Sunday. This day observed as usual. Fair weather. [page 90]

July 28 [1834] Monday. Plomondon and Louis working about the new dwelling house. Pierre Charles has been out getting wood for a couple of Ploughs. Mc Donald, Bourgeau and Brown were employed at squaring wood for the men's houses. John Mc Kee and Ouvre doing sundry jobs about the fort. The weather much the same.

29 Tuesday. The pease being ripe five of the men were put at gathering them along with the women, only 1-6 of the field done. The rest of the men as usual employed. Fair weather.

30 Wednesday. With Indian assistance we got up all the Pease. During the night and day a man is kept at the sole purpose of watching the pease as the natives would soon make a [hole] in them. The weather cloudy at night; fair day time.

31st Thursday. Gathered all the Pease about the spot we are to thrash them at, where we leave them for a few days to dry. Plomondon still keeps at his dwelling. In course of the day the other men were employed squaring. The Trade of the month as follows.

125 Large Beaver
19 Small "
2 lbs Cutting "
1 Fisher
71 Lynx
13 Large Black Bear
2 Small " "
33 Musquash. This includes what sent to Vancouver.
41 Otters
5 Horses and 1 Colt
2 Parcht Deer Skins
48 Dress " "
1 Elk Skin
910 lbs Venison

[page 91]

August 1834 1st Friday. The Pease being entirely dry to thrash were all gathered up about the thrashing floor, made for the purpose. The work getting on slowly. The weather cloudy in the morning, fair and warm rest of the day.

[78] The Yakima River.

2nd Saturday. The same employment for the men. Some Indians have come to trade as also to pass the Sabbath with us. The weather as yesterday.

3rd Sunday. The day kept as usual and the natives were dancing near us. Weather very warm.

4th Monday. Two men employed thrashing the Pease three squaring wood for erecting the men's house, two still working about my dwelling house and Ouvre dong sundry jobs. The Indians keep going and coming bringing at every time they arrive something to trade. Fair weather.

5th Tuesday. The same duty for the men excepting Pierre Charles who has fallen sick he is supposed to have the ague. Late in the afternoon twenty four Clalums arrived with a good lot of furs to trade. They received a pipe to smoke and a piece to tobacco for the night. The weather still very warm.

6th Wednesday. The same employment for the men till breakfast when they were all called into the Fort and here put to work in [page 92] preparing the wood for the square of the men's houses and as the men are done thrashing the Pease they are here, one is employed winding the same indoors. The plan of getting the men about us is on account of safety during the Clalums are here. These Indians made an attempt of getting the Blankets for one Beaver I immediately turned them out of the shop, and told them they may go home with their furs. This step has caused several of the Chiefs to speak but I paid no attention to their ill humor. Fair weather.

7th Thursday. We have now completed the cleaning of our Pease and our crop in that article is thirty five kegs of nine Gallons out of 100 Gallons of seed. The men still employed indoors. The Clalums traded as I wished, and they all left us well pleased, excepting the son of the Chief killed by our party in Mr Mc Leod's expedition.[79] This fellow traded a few skins but carried off four large Beaver The trade from this nation to day is 98 Beaver skins mostly large and a few small furs. Pierre Charles bled at the nose yesterday, and to day he has had a fit of ague. Medicines were given him, and this evening he seems much better. The weather continues warm though the night has been cooler than usual. [page 93]

[79] On the 17th of June, 1828, an expedition against the Clallaam Indians was fitted out at Fort Vancouver under the command of Alexander R. McLeod to avenge the murder of Alexander McKenzie. The result was a severe chastisement of the tribe, some twenty-five of their number being slain. These Indians, naturally, were somewhat timid in approaching the company's post after this affray, but there are few ills that time cannot efface, and now, six years afterwards, the son of the slain chief, himself, is the trusted messenger of the company. See, for source account: Frank Ermatinger, Earliest Expedition Against Puget Sound Indians, (in Washington Historical Quarterly, January, 1907).

8th Friday. The square of the men's house up. A Skacet Indian has arrived with a bundle of beaver to trade. Some scamp or other have stolen one of our horses, if true I shall make an example of him so as to stop these Indians from stealing. Clear weather, nothing of any wind to cool us.

9th Saturday. The men have been employed squaring wood and working about the different jobs of the place. The mare lost yesterday has been found, and as suspected Louis's Brother in Law took it to carry himself home. Traded with the Indian that arrived yesterday. A large party of Indians have come in order to pass the Sunday with us. There is a camp of Oh-qua-mishes[80] Indians below the hill as also Sin-no-oh-mishes.[81] These Natives have pitched near us for the purpose of gathering acorns and berries. Fair weather.

10th Sunday. The natives assembled and requested me to point out to them what was proper for them to act in regard to our Divine Being. I told them that they should endeavor to keep their hands from killing and stealing to love one another, and to pray only to the Great Master of Life, or as they say, the Great Chief who resides on high. In fact I did my best to make them understand Good from Evil, they, on their part promised fair, and had their devotional Dance, for without it they would think very little of [page 94] what we say to them. The weather warm & fair.

Augt. 11th [1834] Monday. Plomondon and Mc Donald still about my dwelling house. Louis, Bourgeau, Brown and Mc Kee have been employed squaring wood for filling up pieces. Pierre Charles still unwell and Ouvre plastering. The Indians about the place traded a few Beaver skins. Some of them have gone off to their old quarters. The mornings are now cool and the day warm. We are much troubled with wasps which are very numerous and voracious.

12 Tuesday. The men continue at their daily work. The natives still come in with something or other to trade. Fair weather.

13th Wednesday. The squarers have done their work, and have begun to fill up the square of the men's house. Traded 20 Beaver skins from the Sin-no-oh-mish Indians. Fine weather.

14th Thursday. The men have been employed indoors. Fair weather.

15th Friday. The men's house is now ready to begin the Chiminies. Pierre is still unwell and Plomondon is getting on slowly with his work. Cool mornings us usual.

16th Saturday. Sent four men to cut roofing sticks for the house

80 Suquamish.
81 Snohomish.

now building, the rest of the men employed as usual. Fair weather. [page 95]

17 Sunday. All the Indians assembled to hear the wonders of our Divine Being. Fair weather to day though rained all night.

18th Monday. Plomondon was working at making doors. Pierre Charles, Mc Donald, Louis, Mc Kee, Brown, and Bourgeau were employed making Chiminies, two completed in course of this day. Traded a few beaver from two Cowlitz Indians. A few of the Oh-qua-mish and Sin-no-oh-mish left us for their own lands north of this. Fair weather.

19 Tuesday. Pierre Charles and Plomondon on the sick list; the rest of the men were employed at the Chiminies. Le Francais[82] an Indian Chief arrived, but seems to be poorly off in the way of furs. The weather fair.

20 Wednesday. Plomondon at work making doors. Brown and Bourgeau with an Indian were across to the Island for Bark. 240 pieces brought to the Beach. The Chiminies were completed and the men began fixing the roofing sticks. Pierre Charles still sick. It rained most part of the day.

21st Thursday. The same employment for the men. Indians come and go but trade dull. Fair weather.

22nd Friday. Began covering the mens house with bark most of it done. Two men [page 96] were out for more bark, in the evening they came back with 100 pieces. More Oh qua mish Indians arrived on the score of trade. Cloudy weather.

23rd Sunday. I have this day got into my new dwelling house what is now done is well and I hope in a few days it will be completed. The mens house fairly covered and the Gable ends filled up. We have now about us three hundred Indians belonging to eight different tribes. A Chief by name Babillard got into a scrap with me, but the coward soon drew in his horns. This scamp has ever been troublesome as Ouvre says, and on that account I made him run from the Fort in a fright though provided all the time with a Brass bludgeon. The weather fine.

24th Sunday. A great day for the Indians who assembled all here for a dance and to hear from me what was right to do. I made them a speech in the Flat Head language, which was understood by the Chief Frenchmen who was the linguist for the rest of the tribes present. Every one seemed to pay attention to what I said, and it is to be hoped that these Indians will become as good as those of the Interior. A Clallum chief arrived but could not see me owing to the number of Indians. There was

[82] Le Francais, "The Frenchman," a sobriquet given this Indian because of his aattempted imitation of European customs. He was chief of the Skagit tribe. See: ante, not 56.

about 250 men [page 97] Women, Boys and Girls in the dance every one peaceable. The weather cloudy.

25th Monday. The men employed as usual. many of the Indians away to their homes. Pierre Charles has had another attack of the Ague but I am happy to remark it was a very slight one. Rained all day.

26th Tuesday. The men employed as follows, three squaring wood for the flooring of the men's house two fixing the same. Pierre Charles making a plough and Plomondon working in my house. Traded a few Beaver skins. A Sea Otter was brought me but did not agree in the price. The night has been stormy with rain. Fair all day.

27th Wednesday. The men employed as usual. The Indians numerous about us. The Clallums have gone away and carried back their Sea Otter. Fair weather.

28th Thursday. All the men employed indoors. Got the scythes put in order. Pierre Charles again sick of the ague. The weather fair.

29th Friday. Sent letters to Mr Yale by the Chief Nes Clam who proceeds to Langley. Some plastering done to the men's house, the flooring and division [page 98] made for each family. Pierre Charles still sick. The natives keep going and coming with some skins and a little meat. The weather fair.

Augt, 30th 1834 Saturday. The plastering nearly completed. The Indians keep near us for the purpose of passing tomorrow with us. Fair weather.

31 Sunday. The men have kept at rest and the natives were also attentive to their devotions. The Returns of the month as follows,

193 Large Beaver
43 Small do.
3 lbs Cutting do.
8 Black Bears
3 Fishers
24 Badgers
42 Minks
102 Rats
53 Otters
7 Elk Skins
37 Deer "
9 Animals (the meat of)
13 Mats [page 99]

September 1st [1834] Monday. This morning Pierre Charles and family took their departure for Fort Langley, along with the chief Frenchman Two men have been put at cutting grass for making hay, the rest of

the men employed in the Fort. Many of the Indians have left us. Fair weather.

2 Tuesday. The same employment for the men. This morning At-say-le-mish's sister died she has been unwell this some time back, and all the Indian Doctors did their best but without success. The articles received by them were, on her Death, returned to the relatives. The Princess's husband has gone to Vancouver, and by him I have written to the Gentlemen there. The old Chief Chickalitz arrived and traded 18 Beaver skins besides a few Otters. The weather fair and the nights cool. We are much troubled with mosquitoes.

3rd Wednesday. The men have this day entered into their different lodgings, which are complete, and every man is now well lodged. Traded a few Beaver skins, several other arrivals, and have brought more furs. Fair weather.

4th Thursday. Sent a man with the Oxen and wagon to gather up the hay and make stacks. Plomondon employed making a Table—Mc Donald [page 100] and Louis were put to chopping the large trees about the Fort—Traded about 20 Beaver and a few Otters. The weather clear and very warm.

Sept. 5th 1834 Friday. Two men employed at cutting up a large tree that lies in our way. Three others were busy making hay, and Plomondon has been at work making a pair of stairs. The Indians are still numerous about the place. The weather fair.

6th Saturday. Got the Barley pulled up by the roots as it was too short for the sickle or scythe. The stairs completed. The weather warm and we are surrounded by a thick smoke owing to the fire being put to the field behind us.

7th Sunday. All quiet and the natives had their dance at La ah lets lodge. Weather cloudy.

8th Monday. Three men were cutting poles for making a fence. One carting away the wood cut from the big tree; some part of it we had to use powder. Plomondon was out cutting some roofing sticks for the Store, those put good for nothing. The weather the same. Smoky.

9th Tuesday. Three men employed getting poles, one ploughing the pease field, and Plomondon usually employed, the weather the same. [page 101]

10 Wednesday. The men variously employed. Two getting cedar bark from the Island, one ploughing, one driving the Oxen for the same, one squarng wood for a water spout, and another hauling home fence wood. The Indians have all gone on war to the Too-an-nooes but I really believe it is only to get something from those Indians as a remuneration for

the loss of one of the Oh-qua-mish Chief in the death of a Son. The weather much the same.

11th Thursday. One man cutting wood for making a Stable. Two others getting home the remaining Cedar bark from the Island and another hauling it up from the Sound. A flag staff has been brought home and a fence is under way for making a Park for the Cattle. The weather has become clear and the smoke has partly disappeared.

12 Friday. Sent men and women to gather up the hay, and the remainder of the men working about the place. The weather fair.

13th Saturday. Two men ploughing, the rest employed about the place. The Indians have all returned from the Too-ah-noos, and have all paid me a visit. Clear weather.

14th Sunday. It rained mostly all night and most part of the day. [page 102]

15 Monday. The men variously employed; Wheat sowed in the peas-field. Wiscum Mc Donald has had an addition to his family, a daughter. Fair weather.

16 Tuesday. We are going on with our ploughing and sowing. A stable is under way for sheltering our Cattle during the rainy season. Indians are still numerous about us. Fair weather.

17 Wednesday. The usual employment for the men, and weather continues fair

18 Thursday. Indians keep coming on us with some furs. No change in our duty. Cloudy weather.

19 Friday. Four strangers arrived from up Hoods Canal and have brought a few skins. The Princess' husband has committed an unbecoming action saying that those people above mentioned had stolen a slave for which the scamp took 7 Beaver skins and a Gun. I of course called him to account, and made him give back the skins. Fair weather.

20 Saturday. The wheat all in the ground—Gave two young Indian lads each a drubbing for riding our horses. Etienne Quaze arrived from Vancouver with letters, and this evening the Chief Frenchman cast up from Langley with Letters bearing the [page 103] same date as those of Vancouver—all well at both places in the way of trade but I am sorry to say that the Ague is very severe about Vancouver. An American Brig[83] has cast up in the Columbia, its views are not known. The weather fine.

21 Sunday. The natives were all present at the dance to the amount of 200. In course of it a young handsome woman (La Grande Bish) was married to a good looking lad of the So-qua-mish tribe. Fair weather.

22 Monday. Two men were out ploughing but came home soon the

83 The May Darce, Captain Lambert.

plough not good, altered it a little and it seemed to go better. The rest of the men employed about the place. Etienne [Quaze] and the Chief Frenchman off for Langley with Letters. Some say a cannon was fired a few days ago about Clallum's point. Fair weather.

23 Thursday. The Cow house completed and the ploughers have done a little work. Plomondon and slave are sent to Vancouver with letters. Traded about thirty Beaver skins from the Tough-no-wau-mish.[84] Fine weather.

24 Wednesday. Got the Kitchen newly covered with Bark and an upper flooring put on. Ouvre was employed repairing an oven. Traded a half an Elk weighing about 100 lbs. Fair weather. [page 104]

25 Thursday. Two men attending to the plough. The rest of them were employed at squaring wood. The weather cloudy.

26 Friday. Same duty for the men. Indians are as usual employed at gathering acorns for the winter. The weather cloudy.

27 Saturday. Got the Fort cleaned up and other necessary jobs done about it. Traded several Beaver skins to day. Rained during the night

28 Sunday. All the natives as well as ourselves at rest. The weather was cloudy and at intervals we got rain.

29 Monday. One man hauling in squared wood while the rest of the hands are squaring more. All what was wanted is now on the place.

30—Tuesday—Two men were ploughing and the rest employed near the place. Trade of the month—

144	Large Beaver
74	Small "
1½	lb Cutting "
5	Black Bear
57	Lar Otters
2	Small "
159	Rats
22	Chev Skins
1	Elk
1½	Animal meat of
100	lb Elk "
16	fresh Salmon
22	Dried "
90	fm Hyouquois[85]

Fair weather

[84] Touch-no-wamish—probably the Dwamish.

[85] Theodore Winthrop, in "The Canoe and the Saddle," spells the word 'Hiaqua." It is a slender, slightly curved shell used as money by the Indians. It was a sort of western wampum. The shells were strung on sinew and, as this entry indicates, was measured by the fathom when brought to the white man's trading post.

BOOK REVIEWS

PAPERS OF JAMES A. BAYARD, 1796-1815. Edited by Elizabeth Donnan. (Washington, American Historical Association, 1915. Pp. 539.)

This is Volume II of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1913. Though bearing that date of two years ago it is fresh from the press. The book constitutes the eleventh report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. For the year 1913 the members were as follows: Worthington C. Ford, Clarence W. Alvord, Herbert E. Bolton, Julian P. Bretz, Archer B. Hulbert and William O. Scroggs.

As Bayard was one of the five commissioners who negotiated the treaty ending the War of 1812, readers in the Pacific Northwest would be justified in hoping for new light in the papers on the Oregon question. As to this the first test is disappointing. The copious index makes but one citation. There, under date of November 16, 1813, is found: "The Count R[omanzoff] told me after dinner, as he remarked en confience, that he had information that the British had fitted out an expedition to destroy our settlemt. at the mouth of Columbia river." The editor, in a footnote, adds: "Astoria, founded 1811, was in December, 1813, occupied by the British vessel Raccoon, sent from Rio Janiero for the purpose."

Meager as is that lone entry, it is important in that it shows that the American commissioners had a hint of the British designs on Oregon a full year before the treaty was signed. It is now known that the commissioners were receiving instructions from the State Department at Washington to insist on Astoria being considered within the ante bellum clause of the treaty, no matter what should happen to the settlement during the war. That hint by Count Romanzoff ought certainly to have strengthened that purpose which was eventually accomplished.

Because of this Oregon contact, readers in the Northwest are interested in the complicated negotiations for the great Treaty of Ghent, to the literature of which the present volume is an important contribution. Most of the correspondence which occupies the book to page 384 pertains to the period of stress and war. Pages 385 to 516 embraces Bayard's European Diary while on the fruitless mission with Albert Gallatin and John Quincy Adams at St. Petersburg and the successful one at Ghent with the same men and also with Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, who made the commission of five. The participation in those negotiations by Adams,

Clay and Gallatin have been fully treated. The present volume fills a gap that has heretofore existed and deserves a cordial welcome for that reason.

Miss Donnan, as editor, has given evidence of a high grade of scholarship. The footnotes are apt, full and illuminating. Under the modest title of "Preface," she has given in brief but interesting form all the essentials that are available of Bayard's biography. She frankly says: "He was not a great statesman, he had not a mind of marked originality or vision, but he was a careful and judicious lawyer, with a thoroughly competent grasp of the subjects with which he dealt, a sincere and high-minded public servant, and a warm-hearted and amiable man. That he gained not only the respect but also the devoition of those who came into close association with him is clearly shown by the letters, as is also his devotion to his family, the separation from which never ceased to be a source of sorrow to him."

On pages 9 and 10 she tells the story of a search for pictures of the Americans made by P. van Huffel at the time of the negotiation. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson of the Carnegie Institution of Washington visited Ghent in 1912, in connection with the then proposed celebration of the century of peace. He there learned of the pencil portraits by the well known artist. The celebration was abandoned on account of the great war but Dr. Jameson's vigorous search revealed the pictures. They were in the possession of a grandson of Christopher Hughes in Baltimore. Hughes was secretary of the American commission at Ghent and was later United States Minister to Sweden. The rescued pencil portrait of Bayard by Van Huffel in 1814 and an engraving by St. Mémin about 1798 appear as the frontispiece and the only illustration in the book.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

TRAVELS IN ALASKA. By John Muir. (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1915. Pp. 327. $2.50 net.)

Here is a posthumous volume from the pen of the greatest exponent of nature yet developed in the far west. The Scotch boy was moved in early life to Wisconsin where he lived a wonderful boyhood. But his long years of vigorous manhood were lived joyously and effectively upon the Pacific Coast.

The preface of the present volume is written by William Frederic Badé, ripe scholar and Professor of Oriental Theological Literature and Semitic Languages in Pacific Theological Seminary, University of California. He begins: "Forty years ago John Muir wrote to a friend: 'I am hopelessly and forever a mountaineer. * * * Civilization and

fever, and all the morbidness that has been hooted at me, have not dimmed my glacial eyes, and I care to live only to entice people to look at Nature's loveliness.' How gloriously he fulfilled the promise of his early manhood! Fame, all unbidden, wore a path to his door, but he always remained a modest, unspoiled mountaineer."

The professor also pays a beautiful tribute to Mrs. Marion Randall Parsons, close friend of the great naturalist, who had worked much with him and knew well the pencilled notes on the manuscripts. "The labor involved," says the preface, "was the greater in order that the finished work might exhibit the last touches of Muir's master-hand, and yet contain nothing that did not flow from his pen. All readers of this book will feel grateful for her labor of love."

The contents of the volume are divided into two parts, one giving the trip to Alaska in 1879 including the wonderful experiences that resulted in the discovery of the great glacier since called by his name and also in the writing of the American classic, the little dog story called "Stickeen." The other part of the book gives the trip of 1880, the most charming portion of which is "My sled-trip on the Muir Glacier."

Those who love the out-of-doors in the great far west and especially the numerous hosts who already know the writings of John Muir will greet with keen delight this new volume. They will also rejoice over the promise in the preface of further salvage from the naturalist's unpublished writings.

WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS, Volume II, 1907-1914. (Olympia, Public Printer, 1915. Pp. 483.)

The appearance of this book was noted in the Washington Historical Quarterly, Volume VI, pages 284-285. As there stated, it is to tie by publication, the work of the Society back to its former publication in 1906.

The book carries thirty illustrations, mostly portraits. Following the lists of officers and committees, the book contains eight chapters or parts as follows: History of the Washington State Historical Society, Dedication Exercises of the Monuments Erected by the Washington State Historical Society, Unveiling of the Statues of Francis W. Cushman and Robert L. McCormick, Documents Relating to Other Historical Events, Papers Relating to the History of the State of Washington, Papers Relating to Mt. Tacoma-Rainier, Biographical, The Tacoma Research Club of the State Historical Society.

A few of these need further comment. The documents relating to other historical events are an account of the reception to Ezra Meeker on his return from recrossing the continent with an ox team, golden anniver-

sary of the Washington Standard, addresses by Secretary W. H. Gilstrap at the dedication of the monument to Robert Gray and the tablet at the end of the Oregon trail, and addresses at the banquet to Gen. Hazard Stevens. The papers relating to history of the State of Washington are the story of the Indian attack on Seattle, by Lucile W. Hewitt; notes on early wagon roads, by Secretary Gilstrap; reminiscent article, by Gen. J. C. Strong; notes by Secretary Gilstrap of interviews with Mr. Van Ogle, of Orting, relating to the Naches Pass emigrants and the Indian wars; Washington Territory's first legislature, by Allen Weir, of Olympia; the anti-Chinese riots of 1885. The papers relating to "Mt. Tacoma-Rainier" are the first ascent, a reprint of the article by Gen. Hazard Stevens in the Atlantic Monthly for November, 1876; Indian superstitions of the mountain, by Rev. P. F. Hylebos; letters relating to the naming of the mountain is an interesting collection of letters written by and to Benjamin L. Harvey of Tacoma in an effort to substantiate the claim that Tacoma was the Indian name for Mount Rainier.

THE MOUNTAINEER, VOLUME VIII, 1915. Edited by Winona Bailey. (Seattle, The Mountaineers, Incorporated, 1915. Pp. 188. 50 cents.)

The annual volume of this organization is always prized by those who love the grandeur of the mountains. This year the book is devoted to the Mount Rainier National Park. For the first time a large party circled the great peak at or near snow line. The book has an unusual wealth of beautiful illustrations and also a body of literature of real and historic value.

The accounts of the trip around the mountain will in time be much sought for, but probably the most striking feature of the book is a sheaf of greetings from General Hazard Stevens, P. B. Van Trump, Bailey Willis, Ben Longmire, E. S. Ingraham, H. M. Sarvant, J. B. Flett, C. V. Piper and F. E. Matthes, dating from the first successful ascent of Mount Rainier to the recent careful survey by the Government. One needs only to reflect on how precious would be a similar group of writings about any of the great mountains of Europe to realize how unique and valuable is this collection made while the pioneers are still living.

Miss Ruth Hanna has an article giving in brief summary the information about the earliest ascents which had been given at the campfires of the summer outing. G. F. Allen describes the forest types of the park, Professor Edwin J. Saunders gives the geological story of Mount Rainier, F. E. Matthes, of the United States Geological Survey, tells of the survey of the park and the measurement of the mountain, fixing the height definitely

at 14,408 feet above the sea. There are numerous other articles of special interest to followers of mountaineering.

GOVERNORS OF WASHINGTON, TERRITORIAL AND STATE. By Edmond S. Meany. (Seattle, Department of Printing, University of Washington, 1915. Pp. 114. $1.00.)

For the first time the biographies of the Territorial and State governors of Washington have been gathered into a book. The essays appeared first in daily installments on the editorial page of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. The little book is dedicated to Mr. Scott C. Bone, editor of that newspaper.

Each biography is preceded by a photograph of the governor with the single exception of Richard D. Gholson, third governor of the Territory, of whom no picture could be found. In addition to the portraits there are reproductions of the great seals of the Territory and the State. The essays number twenty-two, fourteen for the Territorial period and eight since statehood to the present time. The edition is limited, printed from the original type, and each book is numbered and signed by the author.

HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES. Edited by Charles George Herbermann. (New York, The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1915. Pp. 276.)

The second study in this volume is the one that all readers in the Northwest will find of greatest interest. It is by Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J., and is entitled Dr. John McLoughlin. The author on page 93 frankly says his study is chiefly interested in Dr. McLoughlin's Catholicity, but in proving his case he has assembled thirty-three pages of valuable facts about this great character. His opening paragraph gives a good idea of the sympathetic approach:

"Over the Speaker's desk in the legislative halls of Oregon there is a portrait of a venerable man whose aspect is almost startlingly like that of an old lion. A great mass of snow-white hair falls like a mane on his broad shoulders; his head is erect, his eyes piercing; the features are regular and firmly set, conveying an impression of indomitable resolution coupled with a consciousness of power, yet without any suggestion of haughtiness or pride. On the contrary, there is a glow of kindness and benignity in his whole demeanor. Looking at it, one is instinctively prompted to say, 'Here is a born leader of men, one whose followers must not only have feared and obeyed but loved and almost worshiped him.' The pic-

ture represents Dr. John McLoughlin, and under his name is the inscription 'Founder of Oregon.' "

The essentials of Dr. McLoughlin's biography are given and even the most recent writings like those of Frederick V. Holman, C. B. Bagley and Agnes C. Laut are cited and quoted. The author seeks to demonstrate that Dr. McLoughlin was a Catholic from infancy rather than a convert to that faith in later life.

It may be a kindness to the author and publishers to point out a slight slip of the types on page 100 where Bonneville is made to write in 1634 instead of 1834.

TRAIL TALES. By James David Gillilan. (New York, The Abingdon Press, 1915. Pp. 182. 75 cents.)

This sprightly and interesting little volume is sent by The Methodist Book Concern, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York. In his preface the author says: "These few stories, culled from the repertoire of an active life of more than thirty years, are samples of personal experiences, and are taken almost at random from mining camp, frontier town and settlement, public and private life. As a minister the writer has had wide and varied opportunities in all the Northwest, but more especially in Utah, Oregon, and Idaho. Many a man much more modest has far excelled him in life experiences, but some of them have never told."

That statement gives a good idea of the author and his work. The contents embrace brief chapters under such headings as God's Minister, The Western Trail, The Desert, Sagebrush, The Iron Trail, Indians of the Trail, The Stagecoach, Mormondom, Great Salt Lake, The Great Northwest. One of the most interesting portions is entitled Chief Joseph and His Lost Wallowa, which he concludes as follows: "Chief Joseph died near Spokane not many years since, wailing out the one great desire of his life, a final glimpse of the land of his birth, the hunting ground of his manhood and the graves of his sires."

THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST PULPIT. Edited by Paul Little. (New York, The Methodist Book Concern, 1915. Pp. 278. $1.00 net.)

This is an interesting compilation of sermons. It is divided into three parts. The first or introductory part contains a foreword by Charles M. Stuart, president of the Garrett Biblical Institute, an introduction by the editor and a sermon by Resident Bishop Richard Joseph Cooke, Portland, Oregon.

Part II contains the main portion of the book, a collection of sixteen sermons by prominent Methodist ministers in the Pacific Northwest. These

are grouped under the following heads: Oregon, Puget Sound, Columbia River, Idaho, Montana and North Montana. The Washington ministers represented include the following: Rev. A. W. Leonard, First Church, Seattle; Rev. Joseph P. Marlatt, First Church, Everett; President Edward H. Todd, Tacoma; Rev. Robert Brumblay, Superintendent of Wenatchee District, Spokane; Rev. Harold O. Perry, Superintendent of The Dalles District, Kennewick; Rev. Francis Burgette Short, First Church, Spokane; and Rev. Gabriel Sykes, Waterville.

Part III is a symposium on "The Problems of the Pacific Northwest: How Best Shall We Solve Them?"

THE DALLES-CELILO PORTAGE; ITS HISTORY AND INFLUENCE. By T. C. Elliott. (Portland, Ivy Press, 1915. Pp. 42. Also published in Oregon Historical Quarterly for June, 1915.)

This pamphlet gives in appropriate and convenient form the historical address delivered at the opening of the Dalles-Celilo Canal of the Columbia River, at Big Eddy, May 5, 1915. It contains a carefully prepared account of the history of early transportation on the Columbia. The influence of the Dalles obstruction to the free navigation of the river is shown to have been of great importance in its bearing upon the history of the Columbia River Basin. During the Indian War of 1855-56, it is noted that nearly all of the munitions and supplies from Fort Vancouver to the upper country were carried across a portage road of about fifteen miles from the present city of The Dalles over the hills to the mouth of the Des Chutes River and then transferred to boats. Had there been no obstruction in the river, the war might have been brought to a termination much sooner.

READINGS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By David Saville Muzzey. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1915. Pp. 594. $1.50.)

The professor in Barnard College, Columbia University, author of a text-book in the same field, has prepared this supplement source book. It is a good piece of work. The Pacific Northwest is represented by three references to Oregon. On pages 212-214 is given an extract from the ship's log showing Captain Robert Gray's discovery and naming the Columbia river. On pages 258-260 under the head of "An Era of Hard Feeling" is an extract from Senator Benton's plea for the occupation of Oregon in 1825. On pages 322-330 Senator Benton attacks the "Fifty-four Forties" on May 22, 1846.

The Lewis and Clark expedition is represented by President Jeffer-

son's letter to Meriwether Lewis of June 20, 1803, and by Sergeant Ordway's letter to his parents of April 8, 1804.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PROCEEDINGS, 1914-1915. (Boston, The Society, 1915. Pp. 553.)

The committee on publication consists of Henry Cabot Lodge, James Ford Rhodes, Edward Stanwood and Worthington C. Ford. The book, as usual, is scholarly to an eminent degree. It is packed with valuable materials but as those materials do not pertain to the Northwest an extended review of the book is not expected in this Quarterly.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN THE UNITED STATES, PERIOD 1850-1914. By Warren K. Moorehead. (Andover, The Andover Press, 1914. Pp. 440.)

This large and beautifully illustrated volume is from the pen of the author of The Stone Age in North America, who is Curator of American Archaeolgoy in Phillips Academy. In the introduction he says: "With some diffidence I present a history of the American Indian during the transition period."

The frontispiece is a portrait of Red Cloud, war chief of the Ogallala Sioux, whom he calls the greatest Indian of modern times.

Chapter XXV is entitled Indians of the Northwest. It covers pages 253 to 264. Besides the Crows, Utes and other Rocky Mountain tribes, he here deals with the Nez Perces, Modocs and Yakimas, giving the volume that much of bearing in this region.

In addition to the wealth of illustrations, the book carries two maps showing the Indian reservations in 1879 and in 1913.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF NAPOLEON. By James Morgan. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915. Pp. 524. $2.50.)

This beautifully illustrated book is by the author of "Abraham Lincoln, the Boy and the Man," who retraced Napoleon's footsteps from Corsica to St. Helena. Chapter XVIII touches the Northwest. It is a brief one entitled "Selling Louisiana," pages 143 to 146. One paragraph will show the author's method of treatment:

"After two weeks of chaffering over the biggest land transaction in history the entire parcel was sold to the Americans for $11,250,000 cash and a remission of spoliation claims against France to the amount of $3,750,000, or a total of $15,000,000. One shearing of sheep in the

states of the Louisiana purchase now would suffice to pay the original price of those more than eight hundred thousand square miles."

Other Books Received

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GRAVES, FRANK PIERREPONT. A Student's History of Education. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915. Pp. 453.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY. Collections, Volume 12. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. (Springfield, State Historical Library, 1915. Pp. 730.)

JAPANESE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. Report on Education in Japan for the Panama-Pacific Exposition. (Tokyo, The Department, 1915. Pp. 187.)

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE. Report of the Twenty-first Annual Conference on International Arbitration. (Mohonk Lake, N. Y., The Conference, 1915. Pp. 196.)

LEE, WILLIS T., RALPH W. STONE, HOYT S. GALE AND OTHERS. Guidebook of the Western United States, Part B. The Overland

Route. (Washington, United States Geological Survey, 1915. Pp. 244.)

LULL, HERBERT G. Survey of the Port Townsend Public Schools. (Seattle, University of Washington, 1915. Pp. 112.)

MILLETT, F. B. Craft Guilds of the Thirteenth Century in Paris. (Kingston, Canada, Queen's University, 1915. Pp. 23.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections, Volume II. The Indian Stream Republic and Luther Parker. By Grant Showerman. (Concord, The Society, 1915. Pp. 272.)

NORTH CAROLINA STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Session. Edited by R. D. W. Connor. (Raleigh, State Printer, 1915. Pp. 150.)

PIPER, CHARLES V., AND BEATTIE, R. KENT. Flora of the Northwest Coast. (Lancaster, Pa., The New Era Printing Company, 1915. Pp. 418.)

SAPIR, EDWARD. A Sketch of the Social Organization of the Nass River Indians. (Ottawa, Geological Survey, Department of Mines, Canada, 1915. Pp. 30.)

SKELTON, O. D. Federal Finance. (Kingston, Canada, Queen's College, 1915. Pp. 34.)

SPECK, F. G. Memoir 70, Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley; and Memoir 71, Myths and Folk-lore of the Timiskaming Algonquin and Timagami Ojibwa. (Ottawa, Geological Survey, Department of Mines, Canada, 1915. Pp. 87.)

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. Index to Volumes I-XX of the Wisconsin Historical Collections. (Madison, The Society, 1915. Pp. 573.)

LORD SYDENHAM OF COMBE. India and the War. (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1915. Pp. 77.)

WASHINGTON BANKERS ASSOCIATION. Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention, Seattle, September 6-7, 1915. (Ritzville, Wash. W. H. Martin, Secretary, 1915. Pp. 164.)

WASHINGTON STATE CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION. Proceedings of the Eighth Session, Everett, June 8-10, 1915. (Everett, Women's Book Club, 1915. Pp. 58.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Marking the Spot Where Stevens Fell

On October 2, 1915, a granite monolith with a bronze tablet was erected to General Isaac I. Stevens on the spot where he fell in the Battle of Chantilly on September 1, 1862. A similar monument was dedicated to General Philip Kearny who fell in the same battle.

The ground on which the monuments were erected was given by Captain Ballard who owns the farm on which the battle was fought.

The inscription on the Stevens memorial is as follows:

"Here fell Major General Isaac Ingalls Stevens with the flag of the Republic in his dying grasp September 1st, 1862."

There were present at the ceremonies unveiling it: General Hazard Stevens, son of the hero honored, who was himself wounded in the same battle; Richard S. Eskridge and Captain Oliver S. Eskridge, grandsons of General I. I. Stevens, forty Union veterans, twenty Confederate veterans and sixty civilians.

The State of New Jersey some years ago created a commission to erect a statue and monument to General Kearny. The monument to General Stevens was erected by that commission assisted by General Hazard Stevens. This appropriate honor for Washington's first Territorial Governor by a commission of another state suggests once more that the State of Washington should take steps to erect a suitable statue of General Isaac Ingalls Stevens.

American Historical Association

The thirty-first annual meeting of this great organization was held in Washington City from Monday, December 27, to Friday, December 31. The programmes were rich and varied. Professor H. Morse Stephens discussed Nationalism and Histroy in his presidential address. He was a worthy representative of the Pacific Coast, being of the faculty of the University of California.

The programmes did not contain topics this year bearing directly on the history of the Pacific Northwest.

Pacific Coast Branch

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its twelfth annual meeting at Stanford University on Friday and Sat-

urday, Novemebr 26 and 27. Readers of this Quarterly will be most interested in the participation of Professor Ralph H. Lutz of the University of Washington. This year he is at Stanford University taking the place of Professor Krehbiel, who is absent on leave. Doctor Lutz gave a chapter from his European studies. The title of his paper was: "Rudolf Schleiden and the Visit to Richmond, April 25, 1861."

Oregon Historical Society

The seventeenth annual meeting of this organization was held in Portland, Oregon, on December 18. The annual address was given by O. B. Sperlin, Head of the Department of English in the Stadium and Lincoln Park High Schools of Tacoma. His theme was: "The Indians of the Northwest as Revealed in the Journals of the Earliest Fur Traders and Explorers."

Historic Spot in Yakima Valley

L. V. McWhorter, Sul-lil, the medicine man, and William Charley, as interpreter, made a trip in a heavy storm late in November to fix upon the exact spot where the Yakima Indians murdered their agent, A. J. Bolon, thus inciting the Indian war of 1855. Sul-lil, the medicine man, is supposed to be the last living witness of that tragedy. It is now proposed to mark the spot permanently for the sake of history.

Article by General Chittenden

General H. M. Chittenden, of Seattle, has an article on "Manifest Destiny" in the January number of the Atlantic Monthly. The main interest of the article lies in the eminent engineer's view of a just and sensible dealing with the problems presented by man and nature in the Imperial Valley, California.

Living Pioneers of Washington

The editor of this Quarterly has been writing a series of biographical sketches of living pioneers of the Pacific Northwest and especially of Washington for the editorial page of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. It is not at all likely that the articles will be collected into book form. However, they will be useful to future genealogists and historians. For their benefit and convenience the articles are cited here with the date of the Post-Intelligencer in which they appeared, the year being 1915, and the present address of each pioneer:

October 28, Edwin Eells, Tacoma.

October 29, Mrs. Louisa Boren Denny, Seattle.

October 30, Samuel Leroy Crawford, Seattle.
November 1, Mrs. Phoebe N. Judson, Lynden, Wash.
November 2, Edgar Bryan, Seattle.
November 3, Robert L. Dixon, Seattle.
November 4, Thomas Pier Hastie, Mount Vernon, Wash.
November 5, Rev. William Shaw Harrington, Seattle.
November 6, Edward Sturgis Ingraham, Seattle.
November 8, J. W. Edwards, Seattle.
November 9, Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Crawford, Seattle.
November 10, Mrs. Catharine Maple Van Asselt, Seattle.
November 11, Junious Thomas Turner, Washington, D. C.
November 12, Walter Graham, Seattle.
November 13, Prof. O. B. Johnson, Seattle.
November 15, Mrs. Lydia Clark Stark, Lynden, Wash.
November 16, Rev. Albert Atwood, Seattle.
November 17, Mr. and Mrs. W. V. Rinehart, Seattle.
November 18, Clarence Booth Bagley, Seattle.
November 19, David Graham, Seattle.
November 20, Mrs. Flora A. P. Engle, Coupeville, Wash.
November 22, J. T. A. Bulfinch, Seattle.
November 23, Dr. G. V. Calhoun, Coupeville, Wash.
November 24, Judge and Mrs. R. S. Greene, Seattle.
November 25, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Cooke, Berkeley, Cal.
November 26, Gen. Hazard Stevens, Olympia, Wash.
November 27, Joseph A. Kuhn, Port Townsend, Wash.
November 29, Capt. John A. Mattson, Port Blakeley, Wash.
November 30, Mrs. Jane M. Kineth, Coupeville, Wash.
December 1, Mrs. Eliza Spalding Warren, Walla Walla, Wash.
December 2, Mr. and Mrs. D. B. Ward, Seattle.
December 3, Capt. George W. Morse (died December 23).
December 4, Allen C. Mason, Tacoma, Wash.
December 6, Henry C. Comegys, Snohomish, Wash.
December 7, Capt. W. B. Seymore, Charleston, Wash.
December 8, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Gillespie, Seattle.
December 9, Thomas Prather, Olympia, Wash.
December 10, Clark Ferguson, Snohomish, Wash.
December 11, Allen Weir, Olympia, Wash.
December 13, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Moran, Rosario, Wash.
December 14, Charles W. Bethel, Harrington, Wash.
December 15, Mrs. Mary Jane Huson, Seattle.
December 16, Ellis H. Gross, Seattle.
December 17, Clarence Hanford, Seattle.

December 18, Mrs. E. W. P. Guye, Seattle.
Decemebr 20, F. H. Whitworth, Seattle.
December 21, Billy Seehorn, Spokane, Wash.
December 22, Rev. F. G. Strange, Muckilteo, Wash.
December 23, Mrs. Cassandra Eckler George, Seattle.
December 24, Charles T. Terry, Coupeville, Wash.
December 25, Eben S. Osborne, Seattle.
December 27, John McReavy, Union City, Wash.
December 28, Mrs. Mary F. Bean, Tacoma, Wash.
December 29, William P. Bonney, Tacoma, Wash.
December 30, Philip D. Moore, Olympia, Wash.
December 31, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Harris, Tacoma, Wash.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

XVII. Creation of Washington Counties

1. By Provisional Government of Oregon.
   - a. Vancouver District, June 27, 1844.
     - i. From Columbia River to 54° 40′.
     - ii. From Pacific Ocean to Rocky Mountains.
   - b. Lewis County, December 21, 1845.
     - i. From Cowlitz River to Pacific Ocean.
     - ii. From Columbia River to 54° 40′.
     - iii. Name in honor of Capt. Meriwether Lewis.
   - c. Vancouver County, December 22, 1845.
     - i. Balance of area north of Columbia River after the creation of Lewis County.
     - ii. From Cowlitz River to Rocky Mountains.
2. By Territorial Government of Oregon.
   - a. Clarke County.
     - i. In legislative session of 1850-1851.
     - ii. Change of name only.
     - iii. Area same as Vancouver County.
     - iv. New name in honor of Capt. William Clark.
   - b. Pacific County, February 4, 1851.
     - i. Cut out of Lewis County.
     - ii. Named for the Pacific Ocean.
   - c. Thurston County, January 12, 1852.
     - i. Cut out of Lewis County.
     - ii. Named in honor of Samuel R. Thurston, Oregon's first delegate to Congress.

d. Jefferson County, December 22, 1852.
   i Named in honor of Thomas Jefferson.

e. Pierce County, December 22, 1852.
   i Named in honor of Franklin Pierce, then President-elect.

f. King County, December 22, 1852.
   i. Named in honor of William R. King, then Vice-President-elect.

g. Island County, January 6, 1853.
   i. So named because it comprised Whidby and Camano Islands.

3. By Territorial Government of Washington.

a. Whatcom County, March 9, 1854.
   i. Name of Indian origin.

b. Skamania County, March 9, 1854.
   i. Cut out of Clarke County.
   ii. Name of Indian origin.

c. Mason County, March 13, 1854.
   i. First given Indian name Sawamish.
   ii. Changed to honor Charles H. Mason, first Territorial Secretary of Washington.

d. Chehalis County, April 4, 1854.
   i. Name, said by Myron Eells to mean "Sand," was name of tribe of Indians, sometimes spelled Chi-ke-lis.

e. Cowlitz County, April 21, 1854.
   i. Name of Indian origin.

f. Wahkiakum County, April 25, 1854.
   i. Name of Indian origin.

g. Walla Walla County, April 25, 1854.
   i. Lewis and Clark in 1905 called the Indians there "Wolla Wollah."
   ii. Name is Nez Perce word having reference to water.
   iii. Myron Eells says it means "running water."
   iv. E. S. Curtis says it means "little river."

h. Clallam County, April 26, 1854.
   i. In original law spelled "Clalm."
   ii. Myron Eells says the Indian word means "strong people."

i. Kitsap County. January 16, 1857.
   i. First called Slaughter County in honor of Lieut. W. A. Slaughter, U. S. A., killed in the Indian war.
   ii. Changed by vote of the people to Kitsap County in honor of an Indian chief.
   iii. Myron Eells says word means "brave."

j. Spokane County, January 29, 1858.
   i. Indian name has some reference to the sun.
   ii. One definition is "child of the sun."

k. Klickitat County, December 20, 1859.
   i. E. S. Curtis says original Indian word means "beyond (the mountains)."

l. Snohomish County, January 14, 1861.
   i. Myron Eells says among the Snohomish Indians the word has reference to a style of union among them.

m. Stevens County, January 27, 1862.
   i. Named in honor of Isaac I. Stevens, first governor of Washington Territory.
   ii. Creation of Idaho Territory in 1863 made it necessary to readjust bounds of Stevens and Spokane Counties.
   iii. Needed readjustments made by law of January 9, 1864.

n. Yakima County, January 21, 1865.
   i. Name of Indian origin.

o. Whitman County, November 29, 1871.
   i. Named in honor of the missionary, Dr. Marcus Whitman.

p. San Juan County, October 31, 1875.
   i. Named for the principal island in the archipelago of which the county is composed.

q. Columbia County, November 11, 1875.
   i. Named for the river.
   ii. The name originally derived from Christopher Columbus.

r. Garfield County, November 29, 1881.
   i. Named in honor of President James A. Garfield.

s. Asotin County, October 27, 1883.
   i. The Indian word means "eel creek."

t. Lincoln County, November 24, 1883.
   i. Named in honor of Abraham Lincoln.

u. Kittitas County, November 24, 1883.
   i. The Indian word means "gray gravel bank."

v. Franklin County, November 28, 1883.
   i. Named in honor of Benjamin Franklin.

w. Adams County, November 28, 1883.
   i. Named in honor of John Adams.

y. Skagit County, November 28, 1883.
   i. Name of Indian origin.

z. Okanogan County, February 2, 1888.
   i. The Indian words means "rendezvous."
   ii. The name was variously spelled by the early explorers.

4. By State Government of Washington.

a. Ferry County, February 21, 1899.
   i. Named in honor of Elisha P. Ferry, first governor of the State of Washington.
   ii. First name suggested was "Eureka."

b. Chelan County, March 13, 1899.
   i. Named for the large lake.
   ii. First name suggested was "Wenatchee."

c. Benton County, March 8, 1905.
   i. Named in honor of Thomas H. Benton.

d. Grant County, February 24, 1909.
   i. Named in honor of Gen. U. S. Grant.

e. Pend Oreille County, March 1, 1911.
   i. Name is French, meaning "ear bobs."
   ii. Name had been given to a tribe of Indians.

f. Grays Harbor County.
   i. County so named enacted February 27, 1907.
   ii. Supreme Court annulled the law November 4, 1907.
   iii. Legislature of 1913 changed the name of Chehalis County to Grays Harbor County.

5. Summary.

a. Counties were created as follows
   i. By Provisional Government of Oregon 2
   ii. By Territorial Government of Oregon 6

iii. By Territorial Government of Washington 26
iv. By State Government of Washington 5

Total 39

b. Counties were named as follows:

i. For Indian chiefs or tribes 18
ii. For men of national fame 13
iii. For men of local fame 4
iv. For geographical features 4

Total 39

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—From the nature of the case the original laws creating the counties would be the prime sources. They are not as widely accessible as one would think, as collections of the Territorial laws have been difficult to make. The other books cited are more easily obtained.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of, Volumes XXIX, XXX and XXXI. These comprise the history of Oregon in two volumes, of Washington, Idaho and Montana in one volume. The indexes will guide the reader to the counties as studied.

CURTIS, EDWARD S. The North American Indian. The monumental work in twenty volumes and twenty portfolios, now half completed, is to cost $3,500 a set. It will not be very generally accessible. Those fortunate enough to have it within reach will find in Valume VII, page 36, a reference to the name Klickitat. The same volume throws light on other names as well.

EELLS, MYRON. In American Authropologist for January, 1892. This prolific writer has here an important article on the origin and meaning of many of the Indian names in Washington.

GROVER, LAFAYETTE. Oregon Archives. This is one of the prime sources of Northwestern history. It is not very satisfactory to the present study, however, as there appears under date of June 27, 1844, page 52, this entry: "The bill to amend several acts for the organization of counties, was considered and adopted." That seems to be the only record of the creation of Vancouver District so far as the "Archives" reveal it. The index is inadequate and each item must be traced by date.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. Consult Chapter XVI and Appendix I for consideration of the counties.

OREGON, LAWS OF. Where these are available for the dates involved they will give first hand information. The "General Laws of Oregon," compiled by Matthew P. Deady, is accessible but not applicable to this study as the laws creating counties are not included. The volumes needed are the session laws.

SMITH, CHARLES W. The Naming of Counties in the State of Washington. The Associate Librarian of the University of Washington has made a useful study of this subject. It appeared first in The Magazine of History, Volume X, pages 9 to 16 and 78 to 85 (1909) and was reprinted as a Bulletin of the University of Washington, University Studies, Number 6, October, 1913. In one form or the other, it ought to be available.

WASHINGTON, LAWS OF. The session laws of the Territory and State should be consulted where available for the text of the laws creating counties since March 2, 1853, when Congress created the Territory of Washington.

Wash. Univ. State Hist. Soc. 10/12/17
5/1910 Vol. III, 1-2-3-4.

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The
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SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON THE NEGATIVE TESTIMONY AND THE GENERAL SPIRIT AND METHODS OF BOURNE AND MARSHALL IN DEALING WITH THE WHITMAN QUESTION*

The Whitman controversy has been quiescent for some time, and possibly it may be an evil deed to reopen it. Nevertheless there are certain aspects of the case which seem to have so important bearing upon the methods of writing and interpreting history as to take it from the domain of the special case of Marcus Whitman and to place it among the questions of general interest to all students and teachers of history. I shall not endeavor mainly to support any certain view of the Whitman controversy, but rather certain principles which I think should govern the investigator and the writer in the acquisition of data, and the serious, even sacred, responsibility of presenting them to the world. In the writings of Bourne and Marshall I find certain attitudes and methods and assumptions which seem to me to violate the fundamental requisites of correct historical interpretation. They furnish a text therefore upon which I will offer this contribution. The readers of the Quarterly are familiar with the general literature of this subject, and with the names and opinions of the leading advocates and opponents of the central proposition in the Whitman case; viz., That Dr. Marcus Whitman was a great, if not a decisive factor in "saving Oregon to the United States."

When about a dozen years ago Professor E. G. Bourne of Yale University and Principal W. I. Marshall of Chicago entered the field as critics of the Whitman story, it was generally supposed that they would mark a new era in the discussion. They claimed to be

*While Bourne and Marshall are both dead, there are many who would feel impelled to defend them. This article is published, not to reopen the controversy but simply to give the other side what they consider a fair hearing on certain points.—Editor.

"scientific, unprejudiced investigators." There is no question that they greatly influenced opinion. No less a distinguished historian than John Fiske announced his change from belief to disbelief in the Whitman claims. Many readers East and West considered these books a final adverse settlement of the case. About a year ago Leslie Scott, in a review in the Oregon Historical Quarterly of Marshall's final work on the "Acquistion of Oregon," expressed the belief that this was the last word and that the Whitman "myth" might be considered exploded for good. But in spite of the considerable acceptance of this opinion, there is now a decided swinging of the pendulum the other way, and a disposition on the part of candid students to question the whole spirit and methods of Profs. Bourne and Marshall. This revival in the belief of the essential truth of the Whitman story is largely the fruit of the modest and unobtrusive yet convincing work of Myron Eells (convincing because of fairness, candor and honesty) in his "Reply to Professor Bourne," and his "History of Marcus Whitman," and although both Bourne and Marshall, the latter especially, have treated Eells with contempt (See page 45 of Marshall's "History vs. the Whitman Saved Oregon Story" for an example of his tone of petty spitefulness) I am ready to submit to any candid reader of both that Eells is as superior to Marshall in fairness, candor and dignity, as he is inferior to him in capacity of "scientific" abuse and misinterpretation.

As the limits of this article forbid long or numerous citations I will refer readers to the books concerned, Bourne's "Essay on Historical Criticism," and Marshall's "History vs. the Whitman saved Oregon Story," and "Acquisition of Oregon." Reference will also be given to Eells' "Reply to Professor Bourne," and "Marcus Whitman."

First, the spirit of these two writers. I shall refer mainly to Marshall. Professor Bourne was a "gentleman and a scholar," and his essay contains relatively few examples of abuse and vituperation, though not entirely free from them, as shown on page six of Eells' Reply. The chief feature in Professor Bourne's spirit to which I would call attention is that he is somewhat supercilious and academic. I would submit to close readers of this essay that it leaves the impression that he is more concerned in illustrating his theory of history than in ascertaining the real facts in the Whitman case. It has been asserted on supposedly good authority, although I do not claim it for I know nothing of it first hand, that some Yale student from this state presented Professor Bourne a class thesis on this subject which so much pleased him that he himself took up the theme, and that this

was the genesis of the essay. It certainly sounds like it. It has the spirit of certain historians and schools of history which go gunning to see if they can find some available target to shoot at in the way of some fine story or current belief. William Tell, Pocohontas, Washington and the Cherry tree, many other popular stories have been exploded by some "tireless and patient investigator with scientific methods!" What can Professor Bourne of Yale and his major students find to expose? They must find something in order to maintain their reputation as "scientific historians." Well, here is that Whitman story which some missionaries and college builders in a distant state seem to take much comfort in as an example of heroism and patriotism! How would it do to punch the eyes out of that by way of a little class practice?. Such seems to me largely the attitude of Professor Bourne.

But when we turn to Mr. Marshall we find a prevailing tone of bitterness, abuse, and vituperation which removes him from the class of reliable historians and places him in that of mere controversalists. We refer readers to his own books for examples. His stock in trade is the imputation of dishonesty and falsification to men whom the Pacific Northwest honored in their time as models of Christian devotion and honesty. On page 50, Vol. 2, of the "Acquisition of Oregon" note his reference to "three credulous clergymen, all eager to get money from the national government, and profoundly ignorant of the * * * diplomatic struggle, etc." He refers to Spalding, Atkinson and Eells. He then gives certain letters of Atkinson in connection with the Dalles mission land. On page 51 he declares that "the Whitman legend would never have been heard of had the national government paid the thirty or forty thousand dollars claimed by Spalding and Eells for the destruction of the mission and allowed their claims for a square mile of land around each mission station." In the next paragraph he says that until he read Atkinson's letters he "had no idea that it (the 'legend') sprung up first from a contest with the Methodists as to which of them had saved Oregon, and so as a reward was entitled to a square mile townsite at the Dalles." Hence "the origin of the legend was vastly more sordid than I had previously supposed." And I would ask the people still living in Oregon and Washington who knew Eells and Atkinson, as well as their descendants who knew of them, what they think of a historian who places those heroes and saints in the ranks of petty grafters. Read those letters of Atkinson and see whether Marshall gives them any fair interpretation. And what of Father Eells? When we call up his long years of unselfish devotion, how he and his faithful wife almost worked their

hands off at their farm at Waiilatpu in order to raise money to found Whitman College, how he travelled up and down on horseback through Eastern Washington, sleeping under a tree at night and living on dried salmon, parched corn and spring water, superintending schools, founding churches, ministering to the needy, with never a thought for personal gain or comfort, making such a place in the hearts of people of all sorts that throughout this state he is considered a veritable St. Paul,—then for a soured and spiteful old man who never saw him, or had any conception of the motives of his life, to so distort the letters about the Dalles town-site as to hold him up to history as a grafter and looter who fabricated the "Whitman legend" as a basis for plundering the national treasury! The reviewers who commend Marshall's book must have a curious conception of justice and "finality." The very use made by Bourne and Marshall of the words "Myth" and "legend" is a commentary on their spirit. It is the spirit of the advocate, of the prejudiced pleader, not of the fair and impartial historian. In the regular use that they make of those words they beg the whole question. The very point at issue is, *Is this a myth?* They assume that it is, name it "myth," hammer the idea in like a persistent advertiser, and at the end triumphantly exclaim, "We have proved our case!" What kind of a spirit does that show in a historian? On pages 7 and 8 of Eells' Reply are quotations from letters by John Fiske to Marshall in which he counsels him "to be less vehement," and says "there is great value in a quiet form of statement." Marshall, on pages 50 and 51 of his "History vs. the Whitman saved Oregon Story," goes into a clumsy explanation of this in order, I should judge, to make an extra slap at Eells, and to convey to his readers the impression that he and John Fiske were great friends. It is worth noticing that Fiske in a private letter to a man in this state, said in substance: "I think that Marshall makes a strong case, but what is there for him to be so angry about?" What indeed? In view of his habitual anger, villification, and general bad temper, inexcusable in a historian, may we not go beyond Professor Fiske and conclude that he makes a strong case—against himself? We ask readers to turn to Marshall's own pages to find proof of his habits of villification. Among numerous examples note his attempts in chapter 7 of volume 2 to belittle Whitman, to misinterpret and distort his letters, to minimize the greatness of his efforts, to under-rate the privations of that first missionary journey across the continent in 1836, and the fortitude of those two women, Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding, the first white women to cross the mountains. None but a man of microscopic soul could quote, as Marshall does in pages 190,

Vol. 2, from one of Whitman's letters as to the good health of the party, and then comment: "All of which shows that the journey was its own sufficient reward, as tens of thousands of people have since found the journey by wagon, train or saddle animal to be." So those two devoted women setting out on such a journey, that was to sunder them from every tie that made their lives worth living to them personally, were just out for a little health tour, or a little pleasure jaunt! Very easy for those women to cross the plains! Nothing particularly worthy of notice in that! Had good health!

Not less marked is Marshall's exhibition of a morose and prejudiced spirit to be found in chapter 8, Vol. 2, on the Massacre. His venemous spirit is found in nearly every reference to the victims of the tragedy. In giving his summary of causes for the Massacre he finally arrives, on page 261, at the conclusion that the chief cause was Whitman's unwisdom in continuing to practice medicine among the Indians though he knew perfectly well that they were in the habit of killing unsuccessful medicine men, while on page 268 he assures us that Whitman had ample warning, but that he possessed extreme obstinacy, and disinclination to accept good advice. So this is the conclusion of the whole matter. Dr. Whitman was to blame for his own murder? This clears the skirts of Hudson's Bay Company, renegade white men, half breeds, and probably Indians themselves! Whitman himself was the guilty party! If the Lord had not mercifully interposed to stay the constructive hand of the author of the "Acquisition of Oregon" we would probably have another chapter demonstrating that Whitman himself instigated the whole thing for the sake of raising the price of vegetables at Waiilatpu, or getting the government to give two or three sections of land to the mission. Really it seems to us that Whitman, besides all sorts of other obliquities and mendacities, must have been responsible for one crime that not even this "broad minded historian" would have thought of. If he had not been so foolish as to get himself massacred we might never have had all this bother about the Whitman controversy, and might even have been spared the writings of W. I. Marshall!

In connection with the Massacre notice one other illustration of Marshall's spirit in the ready acceptance of the letter of Mr. William McBeari, page 233. There he gives McBeari's version. In several places, among others in the Columbia River by myself, page 207, Josiah Osborne's version is given. Knowing the daughter of Mr. Osborne, Mrs. Nancy Jacobs, formerly of Walla Walla, now of Portland, and having a view of those events directly from her, I have no hesitation in saying that I would believe Mr. Osborne in such a con-

flict of statements instead of McBeari. Marshall, knowing neither one, follows the line of prejudice and accepts McBeari's version. Marshall seems to feel it incumbent on him to give the Hudson's Bay Company and the Catholic priests the benefit of every doubt, and at the same time open his large battery of rancorous hatred against the American missionaries.

Further in illustration of Marshall's spirit note his continuous epithets for Spalding; as "Spalding's crazy brain," page 276; "Lunatic," page 278. While it is no doubt true that Spalding's mind was impaired by the dreadful experiences of the Massacre any decent historian would find a more humane style in dealing with him.

But Father Eells was so totally different a type of man that no shadow of excuse can be found for Marshall's imputations of dishonesty and untruthfulness to so revered a character. On page 196 he refers to Eells' "ingenious and wholly fictitious version of that tale." He builds up substantially the charge that Eells fabricated the whole story for the sake of accomplishing two things; first, to get possession of that townsite at the Dalles; and second, to humbug people into giving money to Whitman College. Are the thousands of people in this state who know the heroic and unselfish devotion, the clear mind, the tenacious memory, the simple and guileless honesty, the almost painful rectitude of that good man, likely to accept such imputations?

Space forbids adding others of the numerous available examples of the spirit of this historian. We must enter upon the more important and more philosophical part of our subject, an analysis of the historical theory and methods which underlie the treatment of the Whitman controversy by both Bourne and Marshall.

In considering this philosophical phase of the subject the two authors may justly be considered as a unit. They employ the same general theories of historical evidence, and to a considerable degree the same arguments and the same matter. On page 71 of Bourne's "Essays in Historical Criticism" he names Langlois, and Seignobos, and Edward L. Pierce as references upon the relative credibility of recollections and cotemporary writings as sources of history. As they seem to apply the theory it is substantially this: Memory testimony given some considerable or appreciable time after the events cannot be accepted as evidence, unless supported by contemporary writings, if such exist. That is the first working hypothesis. On page 99, volume 2, of Marshall's "Acquisition of Oregon" the same principle is stated in a quotation which he calls an unquestioned canon of historical investigation, as follows: "A single authentic contemporaneous written statement of the reasons which impelled any man to

do any deed must be held to outweigh any number of subsequent explanations, however ingenious, that he, and much more that his friends may have put forth to account for his actions." There is a second working hypothesis, not so specifically stated, but practically worked to the limit by both Marshall and Bourne. It is this: Errors by a witness in one part of his testimony invalidate the rest of it. Such, simply and briefly stated, is the basis employed by these two writers in the Whitman case. Starting with this basis they lay down two fundamental propositions. The first is that the letters and other written matter of the period when Whitman is alleged to have "saved Oregon" contain no definite reference to the alleged fact, and that the Whitman claim is built on recollections found in print only after 1864, or more than 20 years after "Whitman's Ride" and 17 years after the Massacre. The second proposition is that the various advocates of the "legend" make many errors in details and numerous contradictions both with the contemporary written records and with each other, and that therefore all their assertions must be rejected. From these two fundamental propositions they arrive at certain conclusions given with definiteness by Bourne on pages 99 and 100, and by Marshall at various points throughout his lengthy work. Divested of verbiage and ephithets, the conclusions of both writers may be summed up in the following points: That "Whitman's Ride" was executed for the purpose of influencing the American Board of Foreign Missions to continue the Mission at Waiilatpu; that Whitman had no thought of national aims, and was no appreciable factor in getting Oregon before the attention of the National Government; that his part in organizing the immigration of 1843 and in getting it to Oregon was unimportant; that Whitman, instead of being a patriot and a hero, was a third rate or a fourth rate man of poor judgment and largely responsible for his own murder; that Whitman's extant letters written between his return to Waiilatpu in 1843 and his death in 1847, in which he claims an important part in the immigration of 1843 and in shaping events to the acquisition of Oregon, were simply an exaggeration of his own services which grew up in his own mind after the immigration of 1843; that the "saved Oregon" idea was never thought of even by Eells, Gray, Walker, Spalding, and other subsequent claimants until about 1864, in which year S. A. Clark, in an article in the Sacramento Union, and soon afterward Spalding, Atkinson, Eells, Gray, Treat, and others interested in Missions, developed the "legend" with such effect that historical writers of national reputation passed it on as veritable history, and it became embedded in many standard works; that the letters to the American Board written by the missionaries in

the period 1836-47 were "suppressed" and that there was a conspiracy to hide those letters, which when examined were seen entirely to disprove the "legend"; that the real reasons for the fabrication of the "legend" were an attempt by Atkinson, Eells and Spalding to get possession of the Mission land at the Dalles, valuable for a townsite, and later, on the part of Eells especially, to create a basis for an appeal for contributions to Whitman College. Such is substantially the line of argument.

Let us now consider the most important part of this whole matter, the application of those two fundamental historical postulates to the evidence, written and memory, in the Whitman case.

In connection with these two historical canons we must consider a third equally vital. This is, *that the testimony of the witnesses to an event takes precedence over all other testimony,* other things being equal. Now we come to the vitals of the whole subject—the interrelations of these three canons and the qualifications and limitations of each. We not only admit, but we insist upon the general validity of each. But truth can be arrived at only by remembering that each has its necessary limitations and exceptions.

Let us first consider then the proposition that memory testimony cannot be accepted unless supported by contemporary writing. As a general proposition this is entirely valid. Common observation shows of course that memory and imagination become interlocked, that with the passage of time clouds obscure the clearness of vision, and that statements made after events must be subjected to the test of comparison with any existing records of those events. But now note the vitally important matter of qualifications to this general rule of historical evidence. First, it makes all the difference in the world whether the memory testimony be *directly contradicted* by the written record, or whether the written record *merely fails to mention certain things* contained in the testimony of memory. If the written record declares positively that a given thing *did not take place,* which given thing is claimed in the subsequent recollections, we must perforce, other things being equal, decide in favor of the written record. If on the other hand the written record merely omits the mention of certain things later embodied in recollections, those recollections would not necessarily have to be rejected at all. Their acceptability would depend entirely upon the circumstances, and here at once we come to another necessary qualification of that canon of evidence, the second essential qualification. It is this: In order to give the written record that paramount authority claimed for it, the conditions under which it is written must have covered *all* the subject matter of the subsequent

recollections. Otherwise there is no reason why matters might not be later reported by memory which might not have appeared at all and would not naturally have appeared at all in the written records. A third qualification: It must be supposed again that there were no positive reasons for *withholding certain matters* from the contemporary written record and that those reasons did not afterward exist for withholding subsequent testimony by memory.

Come now to the necessary qualifications upon what we named as the third canon of historical evidence—that is, the primary credibility of the original witnesses to any event. This is fundamental in law or history. Nobody can gainsay the proposition that the first requisite of evidence is to secure the original witnesses to the event, and, other things being equal, their testimony must take precedence of any other. But now there are some very important qualifications to this law of evidence. Were the witnesses competent to observe and report, were they honest and reliable, did they have any motives for distorting the truth, what were their relations to contemporary records if any such exist? Obviously all these qualifications must be taken into account in listening to testimony, and this is the basis for cross examinations in court or cross examinations in history.

Placing thus in juxtaposition these two canons of historical evidence with the necessary limitations we are prepared to apply them to the Whitman controversy as it is revealed in the original written records and in the subsequent recollections of the original witnesses. This process leads us first to ask the question: "Are letters and other documents contemporary with "Whitman's Ride" in *direct contradiction* to the recollections which were reduced to writing some years later, or do they simply *omit to mention* those essential things embodied in the recollections? To answer this question we must ask what are the contemporary records. They are reducible practically to three groups: First, letters written by the missionaries from 1836 to 1847 to the American Board, and to various friends in the East; second, Government documents and correspondence; third, letters and other documents pertaining to the emigration of 1843. Time forbids me to quote these letters and documents, and I can simply say that they are found in greater or less fullness in the books themselves which we are considering. Now, boiled down to the smallest possible compass, the proposition of Bourne and Marshall is that the first group contains no mention of Whitman's aim being other than missionary business; that the second group contains no hint that Oregon was in danger of being lost, nor any mention of Whitman; and that the third group contains no evidence that he bore any important part in

organizing or leading the immigration of 1843. There we have the whole thing in a nutshell. (While it is a side issue, yet Marshall makes so much of it that I wish to interject a thought here about his claim that those missionary letters in group one were for a long time dishonestly concealed by the claimants of the Whitman "Legend." Now I want to ask why, if the missionaries, including Dr. Treat, who was connected with the American Board, were in a conspiracy to hide the evidence, they did not put the letters where they could not be found, and especially why did they allow Marshall himself free access to them so that the whole story was right there before him. Does that look like conspiracy to conceal the evidence?)

The space at our command compels us to limit our inquiry to the case of the first group of the written records, that is the missionary letters. But we are prepared to prove that the same general facts apply to the other two groups of letters, essentially the same conditions prevail in the subject matter of all.

And now for the examination of these records in the light of the three qualifications which we have laid down. First we assert, and the story as given by these very writers themselves sustains our assertion, that the missionary letters and reports do not at all *contradict* the claim in regard to Whitman's aims, subsequently reduced to writing. Examine these letters as given in Marshall's own book, and you will find that they nowhere claim that Whitman did *not* have such political and national aims. They merely say that he did go on his desperate winter ride in order to do some work connected with the missions, and, somewhat vaguely, declare that he had important business that compelled him, as he thought, to take that journey. Now right here is where the whole matter of the negative testimony of Bourne and Marshall comes in. They assume that *everything connected with Whitman's Ride must have gone into those letters.* Now would that necessarily have followed at all? We are indeed obliged to admit that those letters prior to Whitman's ride, so far as they are extant, do not make any definite claim of his political purposes. But does that at all prove the contention that he had no such aims? Not at all, unless it can also be proven that *all* the records and letters have been preserved and correctly interpreted and reported, that the letters must have covered the same subject matter as the later recollections, and that there was no reason for withholding from the letters the claim later brought up for those political purposes. And this, as the reader can see, involves at once the other qualifications which we have mentioned in connection with the written records. In other words, we claim broadly that not only do those letters *not contradict* the subse-

quent memory testimony, but that there were positive reasons why the missionary party did not wish to commit to writing at that time the political aims of Whitman. Or, to put it in the positive and more correct form: The advocates of the Whitman story claim; first, that the conditions were such that the missionaries would have covered in their letters *only* such things as would bear upon their special relations to the American Board, and to their special correspondents; and second, that there were positive reasons why they did not wish to commit the political matters to writing. If they can make these claims good they evidently have a good basis for claiming that the silence of those existing letters is no proof against the later testimony. I wish to emphasize here the proposition that Bourne and Marshall are depending almost entirely upon *negative testimony.* Their position substantially is that the claim for Whitman's political aims is not found in those letters; ergo, the claim must be rejected. Now it is always hard to prove a negative. Any logician must admit that the *absence of testimony* to some phenomenon by one group of witnesses does not prove the non-existence if supported by the *positive testimony* of another group of reliable witnesses. The negative testimony of any number of witnesses in a court does not disprove the positive testimony of even one or two witnesses to a crime, unless it can be shown that the one or two were either dishonest or incompetent. So in this case, Bourne and Marshall are logical enough to try to show that the claims for Whitman would necessarily have appeared in the correspondence to the Board and to their friends prior to Whitman's ride. They cling tenaciously to this contention, and well they may, for without it their labored argument falls to the ground. Do they sustain their point? They make a great parade of the absence of proof in those letters and their argument sounds quite plausible. It is not surprising that readers far remote in time and place from the conditions and the individuals concerned, entirely ignorant of the character of the witnesses, and considering the entire question rather from the abstract and theoretical viewpoint, should believe the argument convincing. But now what were the conditions? Here was a little band of missionaries in a land not owned by any civilized country, but under a joint Occupation Treaty between rival nations, sent out here to the ends of the earth to "save the souls of the heathen," the only white people in this vast region except the Hudson's Bay Company on whom they were dependent for mail service and for everything of a civilized nature that they had to purchase, surrounded by savages, some at least of whom were treacherous and murderous. It took letters six months to reach them. There was little incentive or op-

portunity for them to write for publication. Although they gladly recognized the great kindness and courtesy of the Hudson's Bay officers toward them individually, they knew that the great Company was necessarily opposed to the acquisition of Oregon by the United States and its development into a cultivated country. Under these conditions they naturally would do the very thing that they all testified that they did do; that is, withhold from their letters such things as would be likely to involve them with the Hudson's Bay Company, especially such a great and important question as to who should own Oregon. Every thing that they said at a later time, as well as the very nature of the case, confirms their explanation of their silence on that question. Moreover they had another reason. They felt that they had been sent out by a missionary board on "the Lord's work," and they supposed that they would be censured if they took up political or business matters. We must remember another thing too. It is likely that in the natural course of events many of their miscellaneous letters, especially to confidential friends, have been lost. Such might have contained some explanation of conditions outside of their regular correspondence.

In short, come to analyze the matter and look right at it from the standpoint of actual conditions, are not Bourne and Marshall making a sweeping and entirely unjustifiable assumption in their contention that since the definite proclamation of Whitman's political aims is not found in letters prior to his "Ride" that he had no such aims? Come to think about it candidly, would it not have been very surprising if he had proclaimed them? Would he not have been a great fool if he had? All testimony is that he was a close-mouthed, reticent, secretive, sort of man, just the kind who would have kept still on a ticklish question like that of the ownership of Oregon, and the other missionaries would very naturally have followed his example. In connection with this phase of the subject Marshall makes so much of the failure by Mr. and Mrs. Walker to record anything of Whitman's aims that I wish to insert here a brief reference to the explanation which they themselves later made of the reasons of such omissions, and this is the more significant from the fact that the Walkers always frankly admitted that they were strongly opposed to Whitman's political aims, and in some measure to his methods. I have in my possession a copy of the Oregonian of August 23, 1885, in which there is an interview by S. A. Clark with Mrs. Walker. Now Mrs. Walker was a woman of remarkable mental ability and high conscientiousness. In the article in the Oregonian referred to she is quoted as making the following statement:

"Mrs. Walker tells me it was understood among the missionaries that Dr. Whitman went East to bring out an immigration to occupy Oregon on the part of the United States, as well as to prevent the breaking up of the missions. The doctor always urged that he could bring wagons through; he was continually arguing that question. That was what Mr. Walker meant by his prayer for Whitman all the time of his absence, for Mrs. Walker says that her husband, during all that time, introduced into family prayer a petition bearing on Dr. Whitman and used the following expression: That if he was not doing what was right and best, 'may his way be hedged up, but if he is in the path of duty, may he be preserved and prospered.' "

From the same interview with Mrs. Walker we quote also these paragraphs, "At a council of the missionaries held in September Whitman explained his views to his associates and they knew how interested he was in the political future of Oregon. He made an excuse to go East to explain the value of the southern mission, but his great incentive was to reach the states in time to work for an immigration the following year, in which he succeeded."

"A joint or united appeal by Whitman, Spalding, Walker, and Eells and others would have satisfied the home Board of Missions as to the value of the stations on the south. Even if they deemed it expedient to send on a member of the mission it would have answered all needs had he gone in February or March, or even later in the spring of '43. But Whitman had this secular matter at heart, and his associates, as honorable men as live, write to say so now, more than forty years after."

"Whitman left without waiting for the arrival of letters that his associates had written to the home Board. Had it been his chief motive to correct the wrong information given to the Board he would have certainly fortified himself with all the evidence at command, and the protest and assurances of his associates would have been invaluable. There is no reason to doubt that he hurried to Washington, first taking steps to spread correct information of Oregon along the frontier. That he remained some time at Washington before going to visit the missionary Board is probably true, and also true that his superiors found fault with his course in meddling with political questions at their expense."

In a letter from S. T. Walker of Forest Grove, Oregon, the youngest son of Elkanah Walker, to myself, I find these sentences: "Up to the time that father died there had never been any question about the matter, and this accounts for the fact that is made much of by some of the other side, that father was silent on the subject.

There was no call for an answer. Soon after father's death the question was taken up by the Honorable Elwood Evans of Tacoma, Wash. He made a great deal of a meeting of the members of the A. B. C. F. M., held at Whitman station, going so far as to question the holding of such meeting, calling in question the account given by Rev. C. Eells, and finally went so far as to say that if 'written proof of the meeting could be found they would yield the question.' I looked up father's journal and copied it and sent it to the Oregonian, showing that Father Eells' account after 40 years was absolutely correct as to times of starting, places of camping, etc., except that he was one day early or late as to date of starting home. As Evans had called in question Father Eells' memory in respect to certain claims he made in respect to the purpose and incidents of Whitman's journey, I made the claim that if he remembered so well the facts in respect to this journey, which was made once or twice a year by Father Eells, and the camping places, etc., being governed by the time they started and variations in routes gone over, it would go to prove the reliability of his memory on other facts. Mr. Evans wrote me a long letter in answer to it promising to make a public acknowledgement, but never did so far as I ever heard. However, he never wrote anything more on the subject."

"I have often heard mother say, that even for years after the mission was disbanded, they were loth to say much about his (Whitman's) work, that much reproach had been brought upon the Methodist mission on account of many giving up the work for lands and other things."

So much for the attitude of Mr. and Mrs. Walker on this subject, of which Bourne and Marshall make a very illogical use.

To sum up briefly this immediate phase of the subject let us insist at this point that Bourne and Marshall, in order to sustain their negative line of argument, must maintain these propostions: First, that *everything* bearing upon the subject of Whitman's ride was necessarily preserved in the missionary correspondence and the missionary journals; second, that all of that correspondence is still in existence; third, that it has been fairly and accurately examined and honestly and correctly reported. Now we know that no such propositions can be for a moment sustained. For instance, Father Eells' journal which would have been contemporary writing, together with other valuable documents, was lost in a fire which destroyed his house. His record of the mission meeting of September, 1842, was destroyed in the Massacre. The same fate or other destructive agencies must necessarily have destroyed similar valuable matter. Taking all these

considerations into account is it not preposterous to claim that the absence of these claims to the extent noted by these historians, and in view of the fact that the missionaries themselves had a positive reason for not publishing it widely, necessarily invalidates their later testimony? Of course it was a curious inadvertance, one greatly to be deplored, and one that would almost justify a little extra choice villification by W. I. Marshall, that those narrow-minded, mercenary, ignorant, and quarrelsome missionaries at Waiilatpu, Chimakain, and Lapwai, did not maintain regular correspondence with the Oregonian, P.-I. and Spokesman-Review, and telephone connections with the chief business centers, and send a daily night letter to Washington City. But they were so parsimonious and so anxious to sell vegetables to the immigrants, and general conditions in the Forties so unfavorable, that I suppose it never really ocurred to them that they could do it.

Negative testimony! That is the basis of the whole argument against the Whitman legend. By the same line of reasoning or the same faulty application of an acknowledged canon of history we could reduce all history to a *reductio ad absurdum.* Grant that such letters of the missionaries prior to Whitman's ride as have been found and reported do not proclaim his national purposes, but suppose that the only people that had the opportunity of knowing his aims testified that he had them, but that he and they had sufficient reasons for not writing them at that time. Are we going to throw away such first-hand testimony for the sake of an assumption? All history is in the first place individual memory testimony. Greater or less time always must pass before any of it is reduced to writing. Some people would make errors if they wrote it down within an hour. Others would retain and correctly report their knowledge years afterward. And we may well emphasize in this connection the well-known fact of human nature that *the big things are ordinarily accurately retained and reported.* It is the little things in which memory is so treacherous.

Therefore at this point we must needs consider the character of the witnesses to the Whitman claims. We refer here to Eells' Reply to Bourne, page 54 *et seq.* These witnesses were men of unusual mental vigor and moral rectitude. I personally knew most of them and their families after them. Mr. Gray and Mr. Spalding, were the only ones who could be called "cranky," and they have been abused and maligned by the opposition beyond all reasonable limits. While they had some intense hatreds and prejudices, their general powers of observation and statement were excellent. No one who knew W. H. Gray ever questioned his force of mind or rectitude of character,

however much he may have been biased by strong prejudices. Of Father Eells it may be said that he was one in ten thousand for clearness of observation, retentiveness of memory, accuracy of statement, and conscientiousness. Dr. William Geiger, Alanson Hinman, A. L. Lovejoy, P. B. Whitman, Elkanah Walker, Mrs. Walker, and others whom Eells introduces as witnesses were every where known within their circles as of strong minds, accurate memories, and moral rectitude. Moreover, they were in the exact positions to know these things as no others could. Now when these witnesses unite in testifying to one central fact, even though they differ on unimportant details and even though their known published statements were committed to writing some years after the events, what is the historian going to do about it? Which principle of evidence has the greater weight, the united testimony of the original witnesses, accepted by all who knew them as competent and honest, or the negative testimony based upon the absence of direct claim in certain missionary letters written prior to 1843? Which choice is the fair-minded seeker for truth likely to make in such a conflict?

Now let us note another vitally important phase of the subject. Thus far I have been admitting the contention that there was not written contemporary evidence to the claims for Whitman's national aims, and that those claims did not appear in written form until 1864. This is the essential basis of the contention by Bourne and Marshall that the whole thing was an afterthought, or, according to Marshall a deliberate fabrication. Even admitting this gulf in time, my contention was that in view of the mere negation in the records and the character of the witnesses, the story was entitled to credence. Now I will say that our case is much stronger than that, for there is abundant collateral evidence of a knowledge by many of Whitman's aims prior to 1864. This is given in many forms by Myron Eells in his two books already cited. My own parents who came to Oregon in 1849 told me many times that Whitman's national aims and services were matters of common discussion among people of their acquaintance soon after their arrival. Prof. Thomas Condon who came a little later said the same. One other witness of that group is worthy of special mention for reasons that will appear. This is W. S. Gilliam, now deceased, son of General Gilliam who commanded the volunteers who went to Walla Walla after the Whitman Massacre. I knew Mr. Gilliam intimately for many years at Walla Walla. He was a broad-minded, liberal, not in sympathy with churches and not prejudiced in favor of missions, and hence not in the category of many of the witnesses adduced by Mr. Eells, and objected to by Marshall on the

ground of religious bias. Everyone who knew him was aware of his remarkable mentality, retentive memory, and high rectitude. Now he, as a boy in the Willamette Valley, son of a prominent pioneer, knew the general opinion held of Whitman by the pioneers, and was familiar with the discussions of the Whitman story, and he was a firm believer in it and a steadfast and convincing advocate of it. He has told me repeatedly that Whitman's political aims and ambitions were discussed in his hearing from the time of his settling in Oregon, a boy of fifteen, in 1844. Now it will be said of course by these critics that all this is memory testimony again. But when a great volume of such testimony comes from East and West giving the views formed during Whitman's life by all sorts of people, and when the essential propositions are maintained by this mass of testimony, even though there may be many differences in unimportant details, is the impartial seeker for historical truth justified in throwing it away in order to sustain a certain canon of historical investigation, which is indeed valid in general terms, but which may be, and in this instance I am satisfied is, so twisted as to defeat the very aim of history, the *establishment of a fact?* In short, are not Bourne and Marshall, by the arbitrary application of a canon, after all their parade of scientific investigation, sacrificing the vital facts to a hypothesis?

But I now go farther than this. A third vital point must be considered. I now declare that there is not a total lack of contemporary written matter. There are some writings of utmost significance belonging to the period or immediately after it, and in dealing with them we reach the weakest place in the writing of Bourne and Marshall. We have time but for two examples of these, although others may be found in the writings of Myron Eells and others. One example is the case of St. Amant. While this was not exactly contemporary with Whitman's Ride and Massacre, it came so soon after and is of such a nature, and is so juggled with by both of these authors as to be a most significant point. (See page 21 of Bourne for the original quotation in French). This was first publicly noted by Dr. J. R. Wilson of Portland in his address at the dedication of the Whitman monument in 1897. While we have not space to enter into any details of this we would submit to any candid reader whether this is not a strong link in the chain.

But a matter of much more significance is involved in the letters written by Dr. Whitman himself, between 1843 and his death in 1847. These letters constitute cotemporary written testimony of the highest importance, and they contain abundant claim on Whitman's own part that he had national aims. But now note how Bourne and Marshall

treat this fundamental testimony. They have been rejecting memory testimony and demanding contemporary written records. Now we produce this written testimony by the letters of the one man under consideration most competent to speak, and what is their treatment of it? Instead of dealing fairly and justly with these letters written by Whitman immediately after his return from the East they misapply, misrepresent, and avoid the logical inferences from them. I refer the reader to pages 177, *et seq.* in Marshall, Vol. 2. He mentions eleven letters by Whitman to D. Greene, one to the secretary of war, one to L. P. Judson, and one to Augustus Whitman. Now let the unbiased reader carefully study those letters, and he must make up his mind to one or the other of two things, either Whitman had made it the great aim of his life during as well as before the "Ride" to establish American possession and settlement in Oregon, or he was a consummate liar. Of course Marshall would at once accept the latter, for his short and simple method for anyone who disagrees with him is at once to declare that he is a liar. But what would any historian with ordinary decency and fair mindedness say? Note now that Bourne and Marshall have been demanding written contemporary evidence. We produce it in Whitman's letters. Having before them the very kind of evidence that they demanded they crawl out of it by attributing to Whitman "exaggeration, extravagant claims, lack of foresight, narrowness of mind, making claims of which only one is correct," etc., etc. If anything, more than the long list of epithets and vituperations, were necessary to damn Marshall as a historian, his handling of Whitman's letters would be. We urge every reader to thoroughly examine Whitman's letters and accompanying bill to the Secretary of War written in 1843 after his return from the East. It casts a flood of light upon this whole history. It shows that Whitman was a statesman as well as a hero. Either that letter was a downright forgery or the claims of Whitman are essentially true. That document may be found in the appendix of Eells' "Marcus Whitman," and how any candid student can evade its logical conclusion is beyond my power to understand. We have heard of "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel" and we here see it illustrated to the limit. They try to nullify all the natural and logical inferences of Whitman's correspondence, but swallow without a wriggle the letter of McBean in regard to the Massacre. (Marshall, page 233, Vol. II).

But more and worse yet. After having rejected memory testimony for "scientific" reasons, and then having tried to nullify and distort the contemporary writing of the most important witness in the case, they finally land at the point where they throw away their own

theory by accepting memory testimony of much later date and far inferior inherent credibility. I have space for but two examples of this. On page 108 of Bourne is a letter from D. P. Thompson to P. W. Gillette, dated Feb. 6, 1900, in which Mr. Thompson says that he had many times heard "General Lovejoy say that all those statements claiming that Dr. Whitman made that winter ride to save Oregon was nonsense—mere bosh and wholly untrue—he always indicated that he was going in the interests of his mission." Now compare that with the letters written by A. L. Lovejoy himself over thirty years earlier to W. H. Gray and G. H. Atkinson, and the letter to Eells in 1876, from which there is an extract in Eells' Reply, page 60. Note also what Mrs. Lovejoy and Miss S. Barlow say, as quoted in the same book, page 61. Bourne gulps down Thompson's postscript in a letter of 1900, *quoting* Lovejoy, but Lovejoy's *own testimony,* entirely different, of *many years earlier,* is not "scientific." O no! Consistency, thou art a jewel! A "narrow minded missionary" or a "lunatic" would be called to sharp account for such juggling, but for a Yale professor of history we suppose that there is some "scientific" excuse.

The other instance is from Marshall, and deals with that much abused story of Gray and Spalding in regard to the Fort Walla Walla dinner, which Whitman is said to have attended and at which a young priest is said to have shouted that the Americans were too late and that the British had the country. Marshall and all the objectors seem to fall into a boiling rage over that story, and reject it at once as an afterthought of mere fabrication. It was "memory testimony" more than twenty years after the event. But now note on page 84 from Marshall, Vol. II, extracts from a letter from Archibald McKinlay to Elwood Evans, used by the latter in an article in 1881, in which McKinlay says, "that the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company knew enough of the rules of hospitality to avoid such tender topics as the boundary question, etc., and that he knew nothing of such an event." Evans and Marshall accept without question the negative memory of McKinlay written in 1881, while the positive affirmation of Gray in his history of about 1867 is rejected in a great rage. Now mind, I am not here expressing an opinion as to the truth of Gray's story or of McKinlay's reliability (he was a most admirable man) but I am simply making a commentary on Marshall's methods. With him it is, "heads I win, tails you lose!" How do these two examples do for straining at the gnat and swallowing the whole menagerie?

Of the two other important groups of written testimony, Government records and immigrant records, the narrowing limits of time forbid me to speak at any length. I will only say that the same

course of argument which I have developed in relation to the missionary records apply to the others also. Bourne and Marshall *fail to find* reference to Whitman in certain government documents and immigrant letters where they *assume they should be found,* and they therefore reject the claim that Whitman influenced Government or people. Negative testimony again! They make an arbitrary principle out of their historical canon in such fashion as would destroy the basis of all history. The fact that a dozen government officials or a hundred immigrants did not know of Whitman in connection with the immigration of 1843 does not at all invalidate the positive testimony of three or four public men and twenty immigrants to the effect that they did know of him and were influenced by him. Any lawyer knows that the testimony of one positive witness to a fact may be accepted in the face of that of a dozen who knew nothing about it, unless of course the dozen were in such relation to the alleged fact that they absolutely could not help knowing it in case it existed. In the nature of things Whitman could not have seen any large number of public men during his hurried trip. Those that he did see did not necessarily write everything that they ever knew or heard of or thought of. Bourne and Marshall make a great deal of the claim that Oregon was in no danger of being lost at that time. We suppose of course that they would not deny that there was a Joint Occupation Treaty between Great Britain and the United States. Nor would they probably deny that the Hudson's Bay Company and the government of England were playing a tremendous game to get as much of Oregon as they could. They probably would not deny the work of Floyd, Linn, Hannegan, and Benton in Congress during those long years of the Oregon struggle. All that is necessary is that the reader consult Benton's great work, "The Thirty Year's View," to be satisfied that a good many statesmen thought that there was danger of losing Oregon. Thousands upon thousands of people thought that there was such danger and that was one of the great incentives to the Great Immigration. No Whitman advocate is, of course, so foolish as to claim that all the immigrants of 1843 were influenced by Whitman or even knew of him. It has always been understood that that great decisive immigration was of composite formation and leadership. But when we do have testimony from many of them that Whitman was a decisive factor in their coming, what is the fair minded historian going to do about it? I knew Hobson, Zachery, Senator Nesmith, Almoran Hill, and many others of that immigration, and when Almoran Hill told me that he started without knowing of Whitman it did not at all prevent me from believing John Hobson when he told me that

Whitman induced his father and family to come to Oregon instead of going to Wisconsin, and that he himself drove one of the leading teams in the train, and that Whitman was almost always leading the caravan on horseback, but would frequently ride in Hobson's wagon, and at such times they would converse about the roads and the prospects in Oregon. Bourne and Marshall try again in the most dishonest fashion to throw away the testimony of these immigrants. But Hobson, as an example, was at that time a young man of eighteen at the very age for the most accurate and permanent impressions, and he was known throughout his long life as a man of very clear mind and reliable statements. Eells had testimony from sixteen immigrants who stated that their coming to Oregon was due to Whitman, while twenty-two out of the total number of thirty-eight from whom he had replies stated that they started without knowledge of Whitman. Again I ask what is the historian going to do? Is he going to reject the positive testimony of the sixteen on account of the negative testimony of the twenty-two? But for any further discussion of this branch of the subject I must refer to the unanswerable presentation by Myron Eells, in his Reply and in his Marcus Whitman.

There is a second general canon of historical investigation upon which Bourne and Marshall rely. It is that errors in one part of the testimony of a witness invalidate other parts of his testimony. As a general proposition this is a correct canon. But it too has important qualifications. People with imperfect knowledge in one line may have very accurate knowledge in another. People with prejudices or manias may give very reliable testimony in some field outside of their prepossessions. Here again I must refer to the fair and frank and candid treatment by Myron Eells of the errors of Spalding, Gray and others, including himself, and the weight that should be given to them in comparison with their general testimony. I claim that Bourne and Marshall usually grossly overestimate the degree, character, and significance of these errors, and that they draw unwarranted conclusions in considering such errors to destroy the credibility of the main story. If the reader will make a careful tabulation of the alleged errors he will find in a good many cases that it is a question whether they are errors at all, and again he will find that most of them are trivial and have no logical bearing upon the main proposition. Spalding, Gray, and Barrows seem to be the ones especially charged with error, but even most of their errors pertain to unimportant details, or to names, places and dates in which errors were natural and which have little or no bearing on the general harmony, continuity, and reliability of the Whitman story in its essential features. I can

give only a few illustrations. Take a few extreme cases, cases which seem to put most of the antagonists of Whitman in a foaming rage. They make a great deal of the fact that Spalding states that the Ashburton treaty was still pending when Whitman went East. This was an error, but when we come to analyze it, does it have any very important bearing upon the essentials of the story? Spalding was and had been far distant from the scene of operations in the "States," was probably not well posted on the details of history, but he knew (and was correct) that there was a question of treaty concerning Oregon between England and the United States in process of formation at that time. He knew that there was an Ashburton treaty, and he simply used the name Ashburton for the pending treaty. He had the fact, but used the wrong name for it. This was not scholarly, but it after all was an error in a name, and would not necessarily affect at all his knowledge of Whitman's aims in going East. Take the case of Spalding again, over which Marshall fairly gloats with the appetite of a vulture, in stating that Mrs. Spalding was killed in the Whitman Massacre. This is of course an extreme and very strange error, but it is obvious on the face of it that it was due to a mental lapse, or was merely an error in writing. Spalding could have had no possible motive in such an error as that, and it is monstrous to build up from such an obvious slip a general denial of all his testimony. Take another instance dealing again with that Walla Walla dinner in 1842 as narrated by Gray and Spalding. They refer to the fact that a courier entered the dining hall stating that the Red River immigration had just arrived at Colville. This story is rejected angrily on the ground that the Red River immigration had come the previous year, and hence it is argued that no such incident could have taken place. Now it is certainly true that the Red River immigration came in 1841, and Gray and Spalding are in error if they meant to affirm that it came in 1842. But analyze their statements. Do they undertake to affirm that the immigration did come in 1842? They only say that some courier *said that it had just come,* and that some young priest evidently accepted the statement, and as a result Whitman hastened home and made immediate preparation to go East. The courier and the priest might *have supposed that there was some second* Red River immigration. It might have been a mistake or misstatement by them, and yet had the same results. Now I am not vouching for the truth of that Walla Walla dinner story, but I do say that it has been distorted out of all proportion to its importance, and that the error about the Red River immigration does not in any way affect the larger aspects of the Whitman case. One more instance in connec-

tion with Gray, as to which Marshall again licks his chops with an unappeasable appetite. This is given on page 81 of Marshall's second volume. It is Gray's examination in the Hudson's Bay Company case, in which he says that he thought Fillmore was president in 1843. This is certainly a gross error, and it must be confessed that Gray does not show up very well as a student of American history. But it is a matter of common observation that men of mental power and accuracy in general are sometimes way off on some detail to which they may not have been paying any recent attention. Gray's critics have exaggerated that unfortunate error out of proportion to its importance. It really makes no difference to the essentials of the story whether Tyler or Fillmore was president. That was not the point at issue. Gray knew that it was *some* President and the fact that he made a blunder in the name has no necessary bearing on the credibility of his narrative. One more incident may be mentioned as a sample of the way in which Marshall gets hold of some trivial thing, and from it constructs some seemingly great matter. On page 295, Vol. II, he pours out great floods of scorn upon Pres. S. B. L. Penrose for what he calls "the silliest piece of testimony adduced in support of the Whitman story." Pres. Penrose quotes Cyrus Walker, the oldest son of Rev. Elkanah Walker, as remembering that his father was accustomed to pray that Dr. Whitman's life might be spared, but that he might fail in his purpose. Marshall with withering sarcasm, and mathematical accuracy, figures out that "the boy had reached the mature age of three years and ten months, when Whitman started, and four years and ten months when he returned," and adds that any comment on the silliness of Mr. Penrose's evidence is unnecessary. Now Mr. Penrose might be justly chargeable with a little carelessness of expression in seeming to assert that Cyrus Walker remembered that distinctly himself. But as to the general fact there is no question. As long ago as I can remember I heard Mrs. Walker and her sons tell the very same thing, together with much other matter of similar nature bearing and supporting the whole story. What Cyrus Walker had in mind was, of course, that he knew that matter as one of the family traditions,, which he knew as well as though he had been himself old enough to fully understand it. Anybody that ever wrote or gave testimony is liable to the class of errors of which Bourne and Marshall try to make so much. If we should apply to these historians themselves a similar rule of errors we would soon have them wiped off the map. On the first page of the introduction of Marshall's "History vs. the Whitman saved Oregon Story" he refers to H. W. Scott as a native of Old Oregon territory. This is an error.

Mr. Scott was a native of Illinois. On page 315 he speaks of the Walla Walla Union as being in very close relation with Whitman College. This is a surprising revelation to Walla Walla people, and is apparently thrown in by Marshall to account for the mention in the paper of a sermon by Dr. Hillis at Des Moines.

This article has already far exceeded the limits intended and must end. In conclusion let me say that my essential aim has been to indicate my conception of the spirit and methods in which history should be written, and to show the respects in which I believe Professors Bourne and Marshall have failed to exemplify them. I shall not close as Marshall does by using the sacred words of the Great President, "with malice toward none, with charity for all," but will simply say that if anything could excite malice in a breast of charity it would be the reading of the "Acquisition of Oregon" by W. I. Marshall.

Walla Walla, Washington. W. D. Lyman.

EXPERIENCE OF A PIONEER

I was born at Garden Grove, Decatur County, Iowa, June 26, 1846. My father, Walter G. Perry, disposed of his farm and other possessions and, in April, 1854, started with team, loaded wagon and family of wife and four children for the West, intending to go no farther than Nebraska; but falling in with a large emigrant train, which was under the command of one J. P. Coats, bound for the, then, Territory of Oregon, he was persuaded to continue with them; which cost him his life.

After having traveled three or four months we came to where the Indians had burned the grass for the purpose of starving the stock of the emigrants. Confronted with this condition, the train was divided into three sections, the foremost being designated as the Ward train, from the fact of its being composed almost entirely of the Wards and their relatives, while the second section constituted the largest train, and we brought up the rear with four wagons.

Our last camping place, where all were to meet alive, was at a place designated in our guide books as "White Horse Creek," I think in Idaho now, the time being about the last of August or later. We had traveled perhaps an hour the following morning when Indians were discovered coming out of a canyon in great numbers, the foremost afoot, and apparently unarmed, followed by mounted Indians armed with guns. They came up squarely in front of our train and stopped the teams, but appeared friendly, shaking hands and asking for whiskey; upon being told that we had none they began to talk of trading with the men, and while my father was talking of trading a pistol for a pony, they opened fire on us, shooting my father, my uncle and my father's teamster. Guns were then brought into play and the Indians retreated beyond gun-shot range, but hung around for several hours trying to stampede the stock. Thinking they wanted our horses, they were turned loose and the Indians departed after catching them all.

Of those shot, my uncle was killed outright, my father's teamster was shot through the abdomen and lived until the following morning and my father was shot through the lungs and lived until the evening of the fourth day. We overtook the big train on the fourth day after the attack. My father was buried on the morning following, and a few days later we came upon the dreadful sight of the massacred

members of the Ward party, all of whom were slain except two boys, William Ward, a boy of fourteen or fifteen years, who was shot in the lung with an arrow, but hid away and made his escape to Fort Boise, where the arrow was extracted and he recovered, and Newt. Ward, a boy of nine years, who had been left for dead by the Indians, and was rescued by Mr. Yantis, later a prominent citizen of Thurston County, Washington, who owned a farm near Tenino. From appearances the Indians had attacked the Ward train on the same day that we were attacked, as the stench from the dead and mutilated bodies was terrible, but we stopped long enough to dig trenches and rude graves for the burial of our murdered companions. The women and children presented a sickening spectable, having been burned by the savages.

After having performed that sad and sickening task, we pursued our journey to its end without further incident of note, many going to what is now the state of Oregon, while we, with several other families, including Mr. Meeker, the father of John and Ezra Meeker, of Puyallup, and the Whitesells of Orting, made our way to Puget Sound by way of the Naches Pass, over the Cascade Mountains, which was a perilous trip In coming down the mountain sides the wagons had to be "snubbed" down, as it was called, which was done by making strong ropes fast to each wagon and taking half-hitches around trees to control them while going down steep places.

My first stopping place to call home after reaching Puget Sound was a log cabin with the earth for a floor, on the bank of Bushelier (now Spanaway) lake, about ten miles south of Tacoma, into which my widowed mother took her four children. This was in October, 1854. After a few weeks we moved into a comfortable log cabin erected on a donation claim which my mother located, on American Lake. Soon after this my oldest brother and myself were compelled to herd sheep for the Hudson's Bay Company to obtain provisions to sustain life, which consisted of salt salmon and potatoes with an occasional pan of flour. This was our vocation during the Indian war, our shield from harm, when questioned by the Indians, being that we were "King George Tilicums." After the close of the war we passed through nothing more eventful than the usual hardships of pioneer life of those days. We had our own cows, which supplied us with plenty of milk, but we were often without bread. On May 8th, 1859, while yet a very young girl, I married Andrew J. Frost, who came to the country ten years prior to my arrival, and since that time my home has been in the territory and state of Washington, ex-

cept for an interim of four years that we lived in Mendocino County, California, and less than two years spent in Alaska. We have raised a family of six children, all of whom are married; the boys being Walter G., Andrew J. and Robert E., and the daughters are Harriett E., now Mrs. Forest J. Hunt, of Ketchikan, Alaska; Anna M., now Mrs. A. W. Morgan, of Ketchikan, Alaska, and Amelia, now Mrs. D. C. Stewart, of Nagrom, Washington. My husband died on the 9th of March, 1909, at our home at Hillhurst, Pierce County, Washington, which I still occupy.

MARY PERRY FROST.

THE "COLONEL WRIGHT"

The first white people to behold the waterway which drains the great Inland Empire were the members of the Lewis & Clark expedition, who camped at the junction of the rivers at the twin cities' location, October 10, 1805, and their primitive canoes were the first of the white man's boats to descend the Shoshone, or Snake River, and the Oregon, or Columbia, to its mouth.

Previous to 1859 the Columbia from The Dalles upwards had been navigated only by Indian canoes, the Hudson Bay Company's batteaux and, for a short time immediately before this date, by a few flat-bottomed sailing craft freighting to Wallula, which was then old Fort Walla Walla.

Successful steam navigation was established that year by the building of the "Colonel Wright," a stern-wheel boat, at the mouth of the Deschutes River, by Lawrence W. Coe and R. R. Thompson. These men had secured a Government contract for carrying freight for Fort Walla Walla, and this business they had handled with the flat-bottomed batteaux or schooners propelled by sail and wind power.

The pioneer steamboat was named for the distinguished colonel of the Ninth Regiment, United States Infantry, in command at Fort Dalles, who lost his life on the ill-fated "Brother Jonathan."

It was a happy circumstance which perpetuated the name of this gallant officer on a steamer which should be the pioneer to open up traffic on this great system as Colonel Wright, only the September before, had signed a peace talk with the tribes at the Sacred Heart Mission, on the Coeur d'Alene River, which opened this great empire to settlement after being closed for many years by Indian wars. Coe and Thompson probably remembered the commanding officer as the "party of the first part" on their contract.

The "Colonel Wright" was commanded by Captain Len White, an experienced steamboat man. He had spent some months in studying and navigating the river in batteaux for the purpose of learning its dangers before assuming charge of the new venture.

The boat was built with a mast that carried a huge square sail which proved of material advantage during the season of winds that are regular trades up the river. The question of fuel was a grave one and for the first season the boat was supplied with drift wood. It was compelled to carry enough wood for the round trip, comprising in bulk and weight the principal part of the cargo.

The start up the river was made on April 18th, with a dozen

passengers, the owners of the boat and fifty tons of freight to make a trial trip. The day was bright and clear when the boat's head was turned up stream from the Deschutes with a cheer from those on the bank, among whom there was but one dissenter, for a successful trip. That dissenter was Victor Trevitt, who now lies on Memaloose Island under a shaft which attracts more attention from the traveling public than the scenic grandeur of the Columbia River.

Trevitt kept a toll-bridge on the Deschutes at the time, which business would be seriously affected by the success of the boat. He offered to bet five hundred dollars that the boat would never make the trip. No one took up the bet but the next day he showed his foresight by disposing of his bridge property before he knew the result of the trip.

On board the spirit was cheerful, the owners and the captain confident as in the pilot house, in his shirt sleeves, he manipulated the wheel against the strong currents. The passengers were generally acquaintances. History does not name them and all minds were made up for an enjoyable trip.

The first obstacle was the John Day Rapid, a narrow, rocky passage with an island in the center of the river dividing it in two, either side being passable for the sail-boats but for the larger steamer now to be tested. The captain chose the right side, but the channel was too narrow, turns too short, the current too frightful; the boat bumped severely on the rocky bank and he dropped back for a "softer spot;" by taking the left hand channel and with the advantage of the eddies he succeeded in surmounting the short, sharp pitches in the stream until success was celebrated by a prolonged toot of the steam whistle, which would have startled the war-like tribes that formerly opposed the passage of the explorer and fur-trader of early days.

Indian Rapid, Rock Creek Rapid, Squally Hook and other strong points were steamed over as the boat came to them, the speed being fair with a good breeze distending the sail. The captain kept the lead line going constantly, a source of interest to all. Darkness found the trial boat within sound of the famous Umatilla Rapids, the most formidable obstacle on the river, where anchor was dropped for the night, as daylight was necessary for this effort.

The clear sound of the engineer's gong at dawn the next morning found everybody up, all interest centering in Umatilla Rapids, for if this obstruction could be passed, success for the enterprise and for the country was assured. These rapids are formed by three separate reefs, a half mile apart from each other, and will always be a

difficult place in the river, although the Government has expended thousands of dollars in improvements during the past years.

The three reefs were made without injury, the boat trembling and creaking in every part as it breasted the current, the water pouring over the bow and deck in a flood, and she glided into the open river again just as the breakfast bell rang calling to material things after the war of giants, water, steam and a man's mind.

General congratulations took place at the table. The owners were happy and the passengers could now go on by horse-back in a few hours to Walla Walla. But the captain was cautious: "Well, boys," he said, "we are up, but we have to go down." The thought of return was but an intimation of more trouble and new experiences; faith in the boat and her commander had now risen so that all believed they could perform any wonder and scoff at any doubter.

The "Colonel Wright" arrived at Wallula at nine o'clock, sighting the first home of a white man since leaving Deschutes, and Higgins, the solitary inhabitant, came out to take the lines. Here stood the old adobe fort, erected by the Hudson Bay Company years before, and now occupied by the army quartermaster who used the building as a warehouse.

Two hours later the load was discharged, the passengers embarked on the hurricane decks of Cayuse horses furnished by the Indians, the lines were cast off and the boat was headed down stream on the home-stretch.

The speed was astonishing. The Umatilla was run without accident, and, with a full head of steam on, the captain reached John Day at dusk but could still see threatening rocks rising from the boiling water. It was plain sailing to Deschutes, which was reached as the steward was lighting the cabin for supper, having been out on the famous run two days, inaugurating one of the greatest enterprises of the Northwest.

During this year regular trips were made between Deschutes and Wallula and an exploring trip up to Priest's Rapids. Up to 1860 the character of Snake River was wholly unknown. No white man since the fur traders had passed up or down. The Indians, when asked for information, would exclaim, "Oh, *hias* skookum chuck;" "very strong water."

With the new decade gold discoveries on the Clearwater attracted attention and miners were routed from Walla Walla oveland to the mouth of that river where it flows into the Snake, and on to the gold bearing district where the towns of Oro Fino and Florence sprang up like magic in these successful diggings. Early in the spring of this

year the army quartermaster employed the "Colonel Wright" to ascend the Snake River as far as the mouth of the Palouse, a point on the direct land route for army supplies by wagon to Fort Colville. The steamer succeeded in making Palouse and a warehouse was maintained there.

In June, 1861, a Mr. Seth Slater, of Portland, wished to transport a load of miner's supplies to the Florence district and agreed with the owners of the "Wright" to make the trip up the Snake River. When the boat left Deschutes (Celilo had not yet been used as a name for the lower end of this route), it was full of freight and passengers bound for the Salmon River diggings, and mining talk, sluices, long toms, rockers, pans, pay-gravel and bed-rock were terms heard from all sides. These people were to be dropped at Wallula, though all desired to share the fortunes of the boat, but the captain would undertake no further responsibility than Slater's contract.

After entering the Snake River the captain touched at an island where an enormous tree had lodged from a former high water, and the crew and volunteer passengers were landed with axes, kept for this purpose, to add to the supply of fuel. Upon disturbing the trunk of the tree a nest of rattlesnakes was also disturbed and a vicious war ensued in which a dozen snakes were killed, two of tremendous size.

At Palouse an enterprising person had strung a rope ferry and passage of the boat was barred by the wire cable which swung barely above the current in the middle of the river, far too low to pass under. The ferryman tried to persuade the captain that it was impossible for his boat to make the river on account of the rapids above, although his opinion may have been biased by the thought that if upper navigation were assured, his ferryboat business would be ruined. Unfortunately, the wheel of the steamer caught the wire and snapped it like a pipe-stem.

Palouse Rapids now confronted the boat, the river being in such immense volume with the June rise that the tide of speculation rose to high water mark among the passengers. Inch by inch, for two hours the gallant "Wright strove for the summit; reached it, and the first difficulty vanished. At the head of the rapid, on the right bank, was Fort Taylor (now called Grange City), a small earth embankment, with a single cabin remaining and a solitary soldier on guard, waving his hat as the boat passed by.

The rapids above, which were heard and feared, were named by Captain White "Texas Rapids," a polite term for a more unhappy place where no water is. A line was put out, the sail set and, a favorable breeze rising in the nick of time, the boat forged ahead faster

than the cable could be hauled in, entangling it in the wheel. Still the boat, propelled by both steam and sail, rushed over the crest, like a thing bewitched. A landing was made and an hour spent in cutting the cable out of the wheel.

No Indians had been seen on the river until now, when an encampment came into view; deer skin lodges beside a stream, canoes, fishnets on the bank, and a herd of horses browsing on the hillside, while Indians slyly peeked at the boat from within or behind their tents, making a picturesque scene. Indians rarely show any curiosity, but not so the horses. As the boat came puffing up the river, the horses, about forty in number, snorting and snuffiing, galloped down to the bank and, with heads and tails erect, ranged themselves like a troop of cavalry with one a little in advance as a leader. The boat, when within a short distance, sounded the whistle, and a stampede up the mountain side took place, headed by the leader, until, a safe distance being reached, they stopped for another inspection of the great unknown.

A little further up the river the boat overtook a party of mounted Indians who were engaged in trying to ascertain the speed of the boat by first walking their horses, then trotting, then galloping them. Their experiments amused the passengers for some miles until a rocky bluff shut them off from view. The boat was now in the heart of the Blue Mountains which closed in abruptly to the river.

The evening was deliciously warm, a typical June evening, and the captain dropped anchor, declining to explore a new river by night. The evening was spent in music and song. Charley Frush and his banjo together with his charming tenor voice carried all to other days for away.

At daylight the boat was under way, so no one was long in bed. At eight o'clock a house was seen on the banks of the river on the trail from Walla Walla at Alpowa, where a ferry was located. This was on the great Nez Perce trail, the chief thoroughfare between the upper and lower countries, as these regions were called in those days. There was quite a crowd of people about the house waiting to be ferried over the river, and pack trains were strung along the trail on both sides of the river all in motion *one way*—going to the mines. As the boat came up, the travelers rushed down to the bank waving their hats, cheering, and some firing off guns and pistols, all of which was answered by tooting of the steam whistle and cheering in return.

The captain was for a time undecided which river to ascend, the Snake River, or the Clearwater, but as the packtrains were headed up the Clearwater, the boat was headed into that stream. As the boat

approached the Indian Agency at Lapwai, the Chief, Lawyer, cried out to his people. "Look! Here comes a water wagon." Few Indians had ever seen a steamboat. Here a few minutes were spent; the Indian agent and Lawyer were invited aboard, and then the boat steamed on. After a hard day's work the captain concluded he could go no further with safety, and, with Mr. Slater's consent, the merchandise was landed about twenty five miles above the Agency.

The "Colonel Wright" made two more trips up the Clearwater in the next three weeks and, as the water fell, a new depot had to be located. The tongue of land between the Snake and Clearwater rivers at their junction was selected as a terminus and as a suitable place for a town to grow up as a distributing point for mining and military supplies.

The name Lewiston was bestowed upon the new tent city by Victor Trevitt, who was at the landing one week later where three hundred people were awaiting transportation. In response to a demand for a name at the upper end of the route for the billing of goods, Trevitt said, "Call the place Lewiston for the first white man who set foot on the spot."

The boat's trip down was a rapid one, stiff places and rapids, which took hours to ascend, vanishing on the return. The mounted Indians were again overtaken and once more they tried to speed their horses with the boat; this time with a different result; as in a few minutes they were left out of sight.

As they passed Palouse the captain shouted to the ferryman that he need not put up his cable again, and he never did.

This trip from Deschutes to Slaterville consumed three and a half days, the return down stream being accomplished in eighteen hours.

Coe & Thompson's freight charges from Deschutes to Wallula by batteaux were one hundred and five dollars per ton. With the success of the "Wright" the charges were reduced to eighty dollars per ton and the batteaux had to go out of commission. Wood for fuel cost ten dollars per cord. Captain White's wages were five hundred dollars per month.

As an illustration of the large business done at this time the following figures, taken from the books at The Dalles for tickets for the *up* trip only, will be of interest:

Steamer "Colonel Wright,"	March 27th....	$2,625
	March 29th....	2,446
	March 31st....	1,570

This was in 1862.

Coe & Thompson added other boats to the service and in 1862, when the Oregon Steam Navigation Company was incorporated, a merger was formed, the owners of the upper river boats becoming heavy stockholders in the new company. The achievements of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company from this period until it was finally merged into the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company, form an important part of the history of the Northwest in its development.

LULU DONNELL CRANDALL.

The Dalles, Oregon.

WASHINGTON THIRTY YEARS AGO*

The first of September, 1885, I landed at Waitsburg from Yreka, California. The railroad from Portland to San Francisco was not then finished and I came up the Sacramento with a freight wagon. Deer was plentiful then in Northern California and I met two four-horse teams loaded with deer hides.

The next morning after I landed in Waitsburg, I borrowed a horse from Rev. Joseph Alter, the first United Presbyterian minister in the Territory of Washington, and rode out north of Dayton to Covello where I secured a school. As I did not begin school for a week I found work with Albert Phillips on the Copei, hauling in corn that was husked by a band of Indians. Here I saw a new way of husking corn that will seem queer to corn growers. There were about two hundred Indian men and women. The corn near the coast does not open out when ripe like corn in the east, but the husks stick as fast to the ear as if glued on and the stub on which the ear grows is hard to break off. The bucks or men pulled the ears off the stalk and laid them in piles and the squaws took a large butcher knife and with one stroke cut the husk off close to the big end of the ear. It was a quick and easy way to get them off.

I boarded around teaching the Covello school. I had about forty pupils. They burned wood in the school and the teacher was expected to cut the wood. They hauled dead logs, long as telegraph poles, and the teacher cut them before and after school. Sometimes he would have to walk four or five miles to his boarding house after cutting wood for the next day. One evening when I got to my boarding place I found the sheriff there. He had arrested the woman who was accused by her brother-in-law of poisoning a horse valued at $1,500. He took her to Dayton where the jail awaited her had she not secured bail. She was tried and acquitted.

They had a smallpox scare in the school and I had to close for a time. Those were the boom times for Dayton. As much as 50,000 bushels of wheat were sold there in one day. Teams sometimes came to town as early as 4 a. m. to get a chance to unload without waiting too long. Sometimes four-horse teams would run a race to see who would get in first. Sometimes a sack would fall off but they never

*Mr. Griffin, who is now manager of the Griffin Commission Company, at Stevenson on the Columbia river, has been recording his reminiscences. They were first published in a local paper, the Skamania County Pioneer, November 18, 1915, from which he sends them for reproduction in the Washington Historical Quarterly.—Editor.

stopped for a little thing like that. Wheat was twenty-five cents a bushel and flour was fifty cents for a fifty-pound sack of first class flour. Wages were good then and the common rate of interest eighteen per cent. Sometimes a man who had 10,000 bushels of wheat would find, after he had it all hauled off, that he had only a few dollars left. Wagons and machinery then cost nearly three times what they do now. Chickens were then two dollars per dozen in Walla Walla and they had to be dressed or you could not sell them at all. I remember seeing a row of empty oil cans about a rod apart from town out to the fort. I asked one man what they were for and he said the soldiers came to town and got drunk and couldn't find their way home without them.

There was only one railroad in Spokane and the city was not as large as Stevenson is now. There was only one wooden school house not as large as the grade building in Stevenson. Lizzie Halderman was county superintendent and principal of Spokane schools. There were sixty pupils and three teachers.

The best flour was fifty cents a sack and they were shipping two carloads a day to Rhode Island; that is one thing that was nearly on as large a scale then as now. There were lots of Indians in Spokane then and a large Indian who wore a high stove pipe hat and wanted to shake hands with everyone was Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce war. Indian ponies were plentiful and sometimes sold for two or three dollars each. Fort Spokane was seventy-five miles off and the supplies had to be hauled in freight wagon. Ore was hauled eighty miles from the old Dominion mine in sacks and shipped to Omaha. Freight on ore was eight dollars a ton from Spokane to Omaha. Pullman, where the agricultural college is, had one small store and livery stable. Mark Hopkins who was marshall of the territory later ran the Palouse Gazette at Colfax and I solicited ads for the book of marks and brands which he printed. Colfax then had three banks and did a big business in grain and agricultural implements. They had women's rights then and the women turned out in full force to vote the saloon down. About half the male teachers wore overalls in their school and at the county institute. Twelve years ago I again taught near Colfax and attended the institute and one lady remarked what a fine dressed body of teachers. But were they any better than those who helped make the great state what it is?

In many parts then more flax than wheat was grown and some thought the Palouse nothing but a stock country. They got all their apples from Walla Walla. They used small cayuse ponies to farm, many of them, and did not plow very deep. The average for the ter-

ritory was about fifteen bushels of wheat to the acre. Now it is nearly twice that much, as they farm better. Milk sold in Colfax for three cents a quart delivered. Now it is worth seven cents a quart. A good steer was worth about ten dollars, and some men who had three quarters of the best land, a homestead, a pre-emption and tree claim, 480 acres, found it hard to buy shoes for their children. Sometimes the hands on the threshing machines got so drunk on Sunday they had to wait till Tuesday for them to sober up before they could begin work.

JOHN A. GRIFFIN.

FIRST AMERICAN SETTLEMENT ON PUGET SOUND*

An Italian economist has declared that a colony is to history what a mountain is to geology: it brings past forms to view.

We read of the courage tested by hardship on the part of those who landed at Plymouth Rock, of those who first settled in the Ohio Valley and of those who braved the long journey over the plains and the mountains to settle the great western terraces, even these shores of Puget Sound. How surely are the past forms brought to view in those successive experiences! There are the same kind of log cabins for the first sheltering homes. There are very similar dangers from wild beasts and wild men, the same general series of hard knocks.

In one sense, the Puget Sound pioneers may be considered the last of the species. It is true that a similar fortitude was required of those who yielded to the lure of Alaska's gold and rushed into the new wilderness of the northland, but the pioneer there had advantages unknown to the one who first crossed the plains. I saw the Alaska pioneers packing up wire mattresses, collapsible stoves, dessicated eggs and evaporated fruits. He was to build a log cabin shelter and he was to have hard knocks aplenty, but somehow I feel that his pioneering, genuine in itself, was of a newer and different type.

Sometimes when you are in the great silent forest pause long enough to ask yourself a few questions. What would be the first thing you would do if you were landed there with a young wife and perhaps a baby or two? Unquestionably you would at once seek for your dear ones a shelter, fuel and food. The woods would quickly yield the shelter and the fuel. Perhaps, also, the woods and a nearby stream would add to the supply of food. In your mind you would be pioneering. If you would then add to your contemplations the ideas of great distances from your fellows, of loneliness, of dangers and of real needs, your mental pictures would be reproducing something of those past forms from Plymouth Rock to Puget Sound. You would then have a greater respect for those who never faltered in carrying the frontier from sea to sea, those who laid the foundations of the greater American Republic, the land of opportunity, home of the brave and the free.

*The Pioneer and Historical Society of Thurston County held its regular annual meeting at Olympia on March 2, 1916. It had been planned to unveil a monument to the first American settlement on Puget Sound. The cost of the monument had been defrayed by the heirs of the late Leopold F. Schmidt. A severe and long continued snowstorm prevented the completion of the masonary work and the unveiling ceremonies were therefore postponed. Otherwise the programme of the meeting was carried out as planned. General Hazard Stevens, President of the Society, was in the chair and the address was given as here reproduced.—Editor.

Puget Sound was not wholly unknown or unsettled when the first American homes were established here. Captain George Vancouver, under the flag of Great Britain, discovered and named the region in 1792. The Northwest Company of Montreal had succeeded to the American fort at Astoria, changing its name to Fort George, during the War of 1812 and then proceeded to establish other fur trading posts in the lands drained by the Columbia and the Fraser rivers. A new impetus was given to these British efforts in 1821 when the Northwest Company was absorbed by the older and more powerful Hudson's Bay Company. Soon Doctor John McLoughlin arrived as Chief Factor and a new era dawned in the Pacific Northwest.

He moved the Hudson's Bay Company's chief post from Fort George to Fort Vancouver and soon thereafter, or in 1827, planted a post near the mouth of the Fraser river, calling it Fort Langley. The journey between Forts Vancouver and Langley was made by a voyage around by the Pacific or a more tedious trip up the Cowlitz river, a portage across the prairies to Puget Sound and thence in canoes to Fort Langley. Sailing vessels were not always available and the Cowlitz route came more and more into use. This soon showed the need of a dependable way station. Nisqually House was established in May, 1833, which became the first home of white men on Puget Sound.

Doctor McLoughlin and his associates in the Hudson's Bay Company were early impressed with the importance of Puget Sound and when the American missionaries began to arrive in 1834 he diverted them to the Willamette valley and to other sections south of the Columbia river. It is interesting to note that the Americans also realized the importance of Puget Sound from the beginning. William A. Slacum, an inspecting agent of the United States Government, crossed over the Columbia river bar on December 22, 1836, and remained in Oregon only until February 10, when he left for California. During that brief time he had made extensive observations. His report was published by the Government (United States Public Documents, Serial Number 314) under date of December 18, 1837. He showed how the Hudson's Bay Company was influencing the retiring employes to settle in the Cowlitz valleys so as to make more secure the British hold of the lands north of the Columbia river. He called attention to the work of the steamer Beaver, built in London the year before (1836), trading in and around the bays and rivers. He then declares:

"I beg leave to call your attention to the topography of Puget's Sound and urge, in the most earnest manner, that this point should never be abandoned. If the United States claim, as I hope they ever will, at least as far as 49 degrees of North latitude, running due west

from the Lake of the Woods, on the above parallel we shall take in Puget's Sound."

In additon to this eloquent urging by Mr. Slacum there was another interesting event when two American missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal church—J. P. Richmond and W. H. Willson—established themselves at Nisqually House in 1840. They remained but two years, still their temporary dwellings there constitute the first American homes in the Puget Sound region. The home of Doctor Richmond was blessed with the birth of a baby boy who was the first American child born north of the Columbia river. These homes were visited and highly praised by Commander Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition in 1841, but soon after that visit the mission was abandoned and the missionary homes were burned.

If the Slacum inspecting tour was important to the United States the Wilkes Expedition was much more so. It resulted in the most thorough geographic survey of the whole region. Hundreds of bays, points, islands, passages, inlets and other features were described and named. The Fourth of July was celebrated with proper American vigor in the presence of our British cousins from Nisqually House. The reports were full and gave the United States all the information needed to tighten their hold on the region.

The whole nation had its attention drawn to the northern part of Oregon in 1844 when James K. Polk was elected to the presidency to the music of the famous cry of "Fifty-four, Forty or Fight." While that campaign was being fought out among the voters of the East, a train of ox teams was winding westward toward Oregon. Among those in the party was Michael Troutman Simmons, a Kentuckian who, Bancroft declares, was "unlettered though not unenlightened" and whose "courage was equalled only by his independence." This man was destined to be enshrined in memory as the first American leader to settle permanently on the shores of Puget Sound.

He decided to remain near Fort Vancouver during the winter of 1844-1845. It was there that his son Christopher was born and it was there also that he encountered something that aroused his Kentucky ire. He was informed that American settlers must not go north of the Columbia river. Now he had planned to settle in the Rogue river valley, but that opposition by the Hudson's Bay Company caused him to change his mind and he determined to have a look at the lands north of the Columbia river.

During that same winter with five companions (none of whom finally settled north of the Columbia river) he made a trip to the forks of the Cowlitz and returned to Fort Vancouver. In the following

July he started again, this time with eight companions, when the famous voyage was successfully completed. The eight companions were David Crawford, Charles Eaton, Niniwon Everman, John Hunt, David Parker, William Shaw, Seyburn Thornton and George Waunch. They were guided beyond the Cowlitz prairie by Peter Borcier, who had rendered a similar service for Wilkes in 1841.

Arriving at Puget Sound they made a canoe voyage of exploration to Whidbey Island but returned to the place where they had seen the Deschutes river tumbling over the falls toward tide water. Besides affording a fine water power, the place was not far from Nisqually House and Simmons decided upon that place as the site of his proposed settlement.

He returned to the Columbia river for his family and returned with them to his new location in October, 1845. Four other families came with him. These were the families of George W. Bush, Gabriel Jones, David Kindred and James McAllister. Two single men—Samuel B. Crockett and Jesse Ferguson—also joined the party, Those were the names of the men who, with Mr. Simmons and his companions of the former trip, constituted the important colony that began the permanent American settlement of Puget Sound.

How applicable to them was the song of Mrs. Hemans, written for the Pilgrims at New England:

"And the ocean eagle soared
From his nest by the white sea's foam
And the rocking pines in the forest roared;
This was their welcome home."

The log cabin homes arose quickly and the pioneering began in real earnest. Each of the men and of the families no doubt bore a full share but Mr. Simmons seems to have sustained his leadership for the first years, organizing and building a grist mill and a saw mill. Later he began the first store in the town that was to receive the name of Olympia, on the claim of Edmund Sylvester, and still later he rendered most valuable service in his control of the Indians.

The Simmons settlement was first called Newmarket but a few years later the name was exchanged for the more beautiful one of Indian flavor—Tumwater. When those settlers first arrived, it was too late in the year to plant and mature a crop. They would surely be reduced to a diet of venison, grouse and clams unless they could secure supplies from Nisqually House.

We should here gratefully acknowledge the magnanimity of our British contenders for sovereignity in this region. Chief Factors McLoughlin and James Douglas sent orders to Nisqually House that the

Americans should be supplied with necessary food. The prices asked were very reasonable and the people to whom these favors were granted were the same ones who had so recently violated the orders not to settle north of the Columbia river.

For a long time it was the custom of American writers to claim that the British either did not know the importance of northern Oregon or else were frightened by the cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" in 1844. Neither is true. A few years ago Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon published in the Oregon Historical Society Quarterly the Warre and Vavasour papers found by him in the archives at London. By these papers it was revealed that immediately following that presidental campaign of 1844 the British Government had sent those two officers in 1845-1846 on a tour of inspection and their reports showed just how the whole Oregon country could be seized and held for the British.

Forty years after the Polk campaign and while the Warre and Vavasour papers were still hidden at London the real reason of the British attitude was revealed by Doctor William Fraser Tolmie, last of the Hudson's Bay Company officers on Puget Sound. He was still living in retirement at Victoria when the Oregon Pioneer Association invited him to participate in their twelfth annual meeting. He did so by writing a letter which was published in the proceedings of the association for that year, 1884. From that letter I wish to quote as follows:

"True most part of the country sought for was lost, but it must be remembered that, between 1834 and 1846, the United Kingdom had—besides several fighting and other troubles in various parts of the world—great embarrassment in regard to Canada, during 1837-38 in a state of open rebellion. What seems more natural, in such a case than that apathy as to further acquisitions of territory in North America, should have prevailed in British councils? From this languid let-aloneism—not 'masterly inactivity'—the government was probably roused by the incessant, and not unnatural, nudging of the Hudson's Bay Co., and by Polk's loud crow of 'Fifty-four forty-or fight' at the time so captivating to the unreflecting of your people. But for these agencies all might have been yielded."

Here we have the real reason why the United States was permitted to win the great diplomatic triumph in the treaty of 1846.

Let me offer one more quotation from Doctor Tolmie's valuable letter:

"In 1845, Michael T. Simmons, George Bush, S. B. Crockett and a few others settled on the south end of Puget's Sound, calling their

settlement Newmarket, and by bringing cedar shingles to me for the Victoria and Sandwich Islands' markets, got useful supplies in return. To help them the more, the Hawaiian market was more than once by the company glutted with shingles."

In this same connection, I have recently had the opportunity of examining the original record known as the "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House." It is there made evident that Michael T. Simmons and others of Newmarket were frequent visitors at Nisqually House. Mr. Simmons, Mr. Bush and some others are always referred to with apparent respect while some other Americans are recorded as Yankees. One entry, on April 13, 1847, nearly a year after the treaty was signed the Hudson's Bay Company was trying to improve its chances for a generous settlement by spreading out and improving its holdings. The entry includes the following:

"Slocum and gang planting potatoes, shifting sheep parks, etc. Messrs. Simmons & Bush engaged for building claims houses for the company."

It might also interest some to know that the winter of 1846-7 was unusually severe. The records speak of twelve inches of snow and weather six degrees below zero.

While contemplating the treaty of 1846, it is well to recall the splendid sequence of diplomatic triumps by which Oregon was held for the Americans from 1814 to 1846. The recent publication of the papers of James A. Bayard reveals the fact that the American commissioners at Ghent were informed that the British had sent the sloop-of-war Racoon from Rio de Janeiro to conquer Astoria. The commissioners were instructed by James Madison, Secretary of State, to insist that Astoria be considered an American possession when the "status quo ante bellum" clause was written into the treaty. That was accomplished and the actual transfer of flags was made with appropriate ceremonies in 1818.

In that same year, 1818, the second triumph of the series was achieved in what is known as the joint occupancy treaty by which both England and America held equal rights in Oregon for ten years. In 1819, the Florida purchase treaty contained a quit-claim deed of Spain's remaining interest in Oregon to the United States.

In 1827, the joint occupancy treaty was extended indefinitely, either side being permitted to terminate it by giving the other side twelve month's notice. At this time the British were increasing their trading posts rapidly and the Americans had not a single settlement.

The American missionaries and pioneers began to flow into Oregon. The Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842 fixed the northern

boundary along the forty-ninth parallel but ending at the Rocky Mountains. The pioneers came in larger numbers and then came the climax in the sequence of triumphs when the treaty of 1846 divided the Oregon country and the great Puget Sound region was held for the United States. Three great Americans stand out conspicuously in this series of treaties—John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin. Few yet realize the debt owed by the Northwest to the watchful and constant efforts of those leaders for more than thirty years.

And it is in the light of that long diplomatic struggle that such settlements as the one at Tumwater take on a new significance for Americans. Do we realize how well they wrought? Have we a tithe of their long vision into the future? We are reaping some of the fruits they sought to plant but are we thinking, acting and planning so that our heritage will pass undimmed to our children's children?

One characteristic of the pioneer was that his eyes were always looking forward. He was interested in the future. Less than ten years after the Simmons party landed at Tumwater, a pioneer legislature of the new territory of Washington assembled within a few miles of those first cabins to legislate for an area extending from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains. To those pioneer law givers, Isaac I. Stevens, the first governor, spoke a wonderful note of prophecy as follows:

"The outpost of the great Northwest, looking on the Pacific and on Hudson's Bay, having the elements of a great and varied development, commerce, manufactures, agriculture and the arts, it has received the name of the Father of his Country, and has had the impulse of its life at a great era of American progress and civilization. Its name, its geography, its magnificent waters are known throughout the land. The emigrant looks forward to it as home; princely merchants as the highway of the trade of nations; statesmen and patriots as a grand element of national strength and national security. Our whole people have risen in their strength and are now reducing to subjection the vast wilderness between the two Oceans, and binding our people together with iron roads. The Eagle of our country's majesty has winged his course to the distant East, and Japan, China, Australia and Hindostan will be brought into fraternal and mutually beneficial communion with us. In this great era of the World's history, an era which hereafter will be the theme of epics and the torch of eloquence, we can play no secondary part if we would. We must of necessity play a great part if we act at all."

O, friends, lift up your heads in pride, pride in the achieve-

ments of your fathers. Let us, in profound gratitude, clasp the hands of the white haired remnants of that noble band of men and women, but above all let us press forward, carrying the torch of enlightened progress given us by the pioneers.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

DOCUMENTS

Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833-1835

Introduction

The first publication of this valuable journal was begun in the Washington Historical Quarterly for July, 1915. An installment has appeared in each issue since. The journal in manuscript is too extensive for reproduction in this magazine. It was not proposed to print more than the first volume of the manuscript. This gives the foundation of the famous old Hudson's Bay Company fort and the transactions there for the first two years.

The other fifteen or more volumes of manuscript are full of information bearing upon the very beginnings of Puget Sound history but on account of their bulk further publication in this magazine will be discontinued.

In submitting this last installment, I wish to extend my thanks to Victor J. Farrar, research assistant at the University of Washington, for the aid he has given in editing the journal.

Clarence B. Bagley.

(Continued from the Quarterly for January, 1916, page 75.)

OCTOBER [1834, page 104]

1st Wednesday. Two men employed at ploughing. Anawiscum, Louis and Bourgeau were busy at erecting Pickets from the men's house to that of the Gentleman's dwelling in order to keep out the Indians from behind the houses. Ouvre still attending to the Indians and doing sundry jobs about the place. The Indians are still about us gathering acorns. The weather fair.

2nd Thursday. The same employment for the men. There is not a day but Indians bring in some skins to trade. Sallacum has taken his departure for his home and it is expected others will follow. Rained a little during the night. Fair all day.

3rd Friday. We continue on with our work. The cattle have during the night got into our potatoes and eat up all the stocks of our good fruit. The weather fair.

4th Saturday. Part of the day we were employed in putting up our furs into Bales of 125 Large Beaver each. Traded some Elk

meat for amunition. The weather was cloudy and in the eve we got a heavy shower of rain.

5 Sunday. All still about us. Rained at intervals.

6 Monday. The ploughers still at their duty. The rest of the men employed about the place. The night past we got a little rain. [page 106]

October 7 [1834] Tuesday. John McKee and Brown ploughing, Mc Donald making gate doors, Bourgeau and Louis squaring wood, and Ouvre doing little or nothing. The weather cloudy and some rain fell.

8 Wednesday. Bales of furs packed up. The men at the same duty. Fair weather.

9 Thursday. Early this morning we were visited by thirty of the Mackah Tribe along with two Clallums headed by Little Jack and George. They tell me that they had seen Captain Dominus[86] with whom they traded some Canoes and a few skins. They have brought us some beavers skins. Late last night Plomondon arrived from Vancouver with the plough shares requested. The Eagle[87] has arrived safe and an American Brig[88] is anchored near Kiassinoes house, she is said to be loaded with sundry articles for salting salmon and with settlers for the Willamette. We have had a rainy night and day.

10 Friday. All the men at work about the place. Traded thirty one Beaver skins from the Mackahs and seventy [?] of Hyouquois[89],

[86]In the early part of 1829 the brig Owyhee, Captain Dominus (or Dominis), and the schooner Convoy, Captain Thompson, entered the Columbia river for the purpose of engaging in trade with the Indians. These vessels were the property of an American firm, Marshall & Wild, of Boston. During the summer they cruised up and down the coast, after which the Convoy left for the Sandwich Islands, and the Owyhee passed the winter in the Columbia. Both ships were on the coast together during the following summer, 1834, and then departed, never to return again, although the venture had been a profitable one. During his short cruise with the Owyhee, Captain Dominus achieved great notoriety, if not fame. He introduced the first peach trees into Oregon, and exhibited the first cargo of Columbia river salmon in the city of Boston. Shortly after his arrival with the Owyhee, in 1829, a terrific epidemic of fever and ague, typhoid, measles, etc., diseases unknown to the Indians, broke out, which depopulated many of the Columbia river tribes and bands, and the natives, unable to account for the visitation of the strange maladies, ascribed their cause to the arrival of the Owyhee. What is known of his subsequent career is interesting. In August, 1834, we find him in command of the Hawaiian bark Bolivar Liberator, provided with a special agreement with the Russian American Company, and equipped with twenty Tungass, hunting the sea otter in the northwest waters. It is quite probable that he stopped to trade with the Makah Indians, as they were adept in the art of hunting the sea otter.

[87]The vessel referred to is probably the former American ship Eagle, Captain Meek, of Boston, which made her first appearance on the Columbia in 1818. She had evidently changed colors, as no record of a second vessel of the same name is extant at this time. From the tone of this entry one would infer her to be a British vessel, and this fact is borne out by the log of the schooner Vancouver, for July 8 to October 2, 1830, when the three ships, Cadboro, Eagle and Vancouver made an excursion to the Fraser river. Consult the indices of Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest, and Bancroft's History of the Northwest Coast.

[88]Probably the May Dacre; possibly the Europa.

[89]See: ante, note 85.

the latter was merely to please in order to get them back to us. The natives are all going away to choose winter quarters. Cloudy and rainy weather.

11 Saturday. The ploughers at their work and all the rest of the men variously employed about us. Rainy weather. [page 107]

12 Sunday. As usual the Indians assemble and pay their respects to our Divine Being. Two young Cowlitz paid us a visit and after trading they left us for their quarters. Fair weather.

13 Monday. John McKee and Brown ploughing. Plomondon making a cupboard, Louis, Anawiscum and Bourgeau dressing up the Fort Pickets. Ouvre as usual attending to the Indians. This day last year from York left Fort Colville for Vancouver. The weather cloudy in the morning and fair rest of the day.

14 Tuesday. The same employment for the men weather cloudy.

15th Wednesday. A few Indians arrived from town and the Pisk caw house mountains they brought a few furs. Fair weather.

16 Thursday. Plomondon making wooden scales and Beam. Anawiscum, Louis and Bourgeau busy cutting wood for a Cellar. Traded about thirty skins from the Babillard and the other strangers. The fogs are very dense in the mornings but about noon they disappear.

17 Friday. The men working near the fort. Indians have again left us. The weather as usual.

18th Saturday. No change this day in our duty. [page 108]

Oct. 19 [1834] Sunday. We were only visited by seven Indians in course of the day. Fair weather.

20 Monday. Owing to the Oxen being lost we could not plough. The men were employed about the potatoe cellar. Cloudy weather.

21st Tuesday. Plomondon is now busy at making a new counter to the Indian Shop. Bourgeau & Louis sawing wheels, and Anawiscum getting the wood for making a wagon. The ploughers keep at their work. The Indians are few about us. Fair weather.

22 Wednesday. The ploughers still employed. Three men out cutting wood for the waggon and Plomondon as usual employed. This date last year the York express arrived at Vancouver. Delightful weather.

23 Thursday. Four men employed at taking up the Potatoes which are not much larger than a musket Ball. Plomondon still at his work of the 21st Instant. Louis sick. Traded 7 Beaver skins. Fair weather, foggy morning.

24 Friday. The same routine of employment for the men; the potatoes are all taken up and we have 13 kegs from eight of seed. Plo-

mondon finished his work and has now begun to make a door for [page 109] the potatoe house. Louis still stopping indoors through illness. Rained much during the night fair all day.

25th Saturday. The Oxen not found therefore no ploughing. Set the two men at squaring wood, two others making the waggon, Ouvre attending to the Indians. Plomondon and Louis on the sick list. Fair weather.

26 Sunday. This morning Master Plomondon got in an animal from the natives for which he was reprimanded for breaking through the rules of the Establishment. The natives assembled but did not dance owing to Bad weather. They were admitted into the Indian Hall and there they passed the day in quietness.

27 Monday. This morning Plomondon and family made their preparation for leaving the place. The ploughers continued at their work. McDonald and Bourgeau were employed at the wagon. Louis still stick; This forenoon J. B. Perrault and wife arrived in search of a woman slave which I had taken from the Princesse's husband. They brought us favorable news from Head Quarters and say that the Indians had reported that the express from York had arrived on the 15th Instant. The Americans do not trade furs. The weather fair.

28th Tuesday. Two more bushels of wheat put in the ground. Ploughing always on the go [page 110] This morning Plomondon and family left this for Vancouver, as also J. B. Perrault with his wife and slave, by them I have written to Mr. Chief Factor Mc Loughlin informing him of the state of our affairs. We have had a very stormy night and to day the rain and gale continued accompanied by a little thunder.

29 Wednesday. The men of the place now reduced to six have been employed as follows Two ploughing, two squaring, one making a door and Ouvre attending to Indians. This has been a very stormy day we have had rain, hail and very great thunder storm.

30 Thursday. A platform was made in the small square next to the Indian house. Ploughing continued. Betwixt each Picket of the Fort small poles were put in order to stop the Indians from looking inside. Passing showers.

31 Friday. The same employment for the men. The trade for the month as follows,

96 Large Beaver.	1 Fisher
62 Small Do.	1 Animal
20 Otters &	54 Fresh Salmon
1 Sea Do.	96 [?] Dried Do.

68 Rats.	26 Geese
6 Racoons	39 Ducks.

The weather cloudy and some rain fell. [page 111]

Nov. 1st Saturday. This being a day of rest for the people accordingly they were not put to work. Took a ride out towards the crossing place of Nisqually river in hopes of meeting some one from Vancouver but was disappointed. Passing showers all day.

2nd Sunday. No Indians and everything quiet about us. Fair weather.

3rd Monday. The men were squaring for flooring the Stable no ploughing this day owing to the oxen being late a coming. We got a few apple seeds put into a hot bed made for the purpose. Heavy showers in the forenoon. This evening the Cowlitz Chief Callupeegua arrived, and tells us that Perrault and Plomondon had only left Sinnetreyae's lodge this morning.

4 Tuesday. Ploughers have resumed their work. The rest employed as yesterday, squaring. Traded 1 Beaver and some wild fowls. The weather very Bad always raining

5th Wednesday. The same work for the men. The weather still unpleasant.

6th Thursday. The Stable completed. The ploughers have begun a new spot of ground near the little river; it appears better then the old field. The weather fair and delightful.

7 Friday. Three men employed squaring more wood for a small building. The ploughers at their job. [page 112] The Indians take a great many salmon with a hook attached to a long pole. This fish is very poor. Three of our horses missing since yesterday morning. Delightful weather.

Novr. 8 1834 Saturday. Got in our squared wood. Indians have come in and traded a few skins. It rained a little in the forenoon.

9 Sunday. An Indian from the Island brought us the meat of 4 animals which he traded. Weather fine, thick fog in the morning.

10th Monday. Two ploughers at their work. The rest of the men employed at the small building. Foggy morning as yesterday. The horses found. The meat of another animal brought us.

11 Tuesday. The same employment as yesterday Late this evening Vivet with a Pork eater arrived with the Empress from Y. which reached Vancouver on the 16th ulto. All well. Rainy weather.

12 Wednesday. Early this morning sent Vivet and his man back to Vancouver as the Doctor is very anxious about the non arrival of

the Dryad[90] and I am sorry to say we have no news of her as yet. The same duty for the men.

13th Thursday. Sent Ouvre with Mr. Yales Packet, he is to give it to the first Chief he meets [page 113] with on the track. The men employed as usual. The weather cloudy.

Novr. 14 Friday. The same occupation for the men. I have been very unwell all day and I am now barely recovered. Indians come in as usual for the purpose of getting amunition. Cloudy and rain.

15 Saturday. Ouvre returned and the letters sent. Still unwell but much better than yesterday. Fair at intervals.

16 Sundy. All quietness about us. Delightful weather in the afternoon.

17 Monday. Ploughers resumed their work. The small building completed. Le Francois[91] arrived with a Band of Indians to Trade. Fair weather at times with partial showers.

18 Tuesday. The same employment for the men. Traded a few Beaver skins from the new arrivals Fair at intervals

19 Wednesday. Getting Pack Saddles made, we are still lining our Fort Pickets the ploughers at their Work. The Frenchman and gang off Neilam and another party arrived with furs; no news from the Coast. weather as yesterday. [page 114]

Novr. 20 1834 Thursday. The same employment for the men as yesterday. Neidlum and Party away, and another band arrived with furs to trade. We are really at a loss of what keeps the vessel from coming, it is to be hoped that everything to the northward is safe, and that it is only the unfavorable state of the weather that detains the Ship from coming to us as ordered by Mr. Chief Factor Mc Loughlin. The nights are now colder and the fogs very dense about us in the mornings.

21 Friday. No change in our work or situation all dull and unpleasant. Weather much as yesterday but colder in the night.

22 Saturday. The ploughers have done only about ¼ of acre this day, and very hard work for the oxen. The lining of the Fort Pickets is now completed and the Saddles also. To day we traded 11 Fresh Salmon which is very good, and this fish continues so far the winter season. Delightful weather.

23 Sunday. The weather continues pleasant.

[90]The British bark Dryad came to the Columbia in 1831 and figured prominently in connection with the frustrated attempt of Peter Skeen Ogden to found a post on the Stikeen river. The vessel returned to the Columbia in 1834, and in March, 1835, departed for the Sandwich Islands, having on board the notorious Oregon Question agitator, Hall J. Kelley. She was withdrawn from these waters that same year. See: post, note 94.

[91]See: ante, notes 56 and 82.

24 Monday. The ploughers did very little this day owing to the plough being out of order. The rest of the men variously employed. The natives have more fresh Salmon as also venison and fowls, we are now living on the fat of the land. Fair weather. [page 115]

25 Tuesday. Sent the men to Nesqually river for cedar boards in order to cover an Indian house which we are on the eve of erecting outside of the Fort for strangers. The ploughers have done much better today than yesterday working in the field. Anawiscum McDonald is making a wheel-barrow. Louis wife gave birth to a Daughter. Traded a couple of Beaver skins from a Chief of the Oquamish tribe he got a damaged Capot 4½ lbs for them Fair and most delightful weather.

26 Wednesday. The ploughers have done the spot of ground mentioned on the 6th Instant. Two men employed cutting wood for a new building intended for the Indians coming from a distante, it is to be erected outside of the Stockades. The wheelbarrow completed. Fair weather.

27 Thursday. Got the wood, cut yesterday, hauled home today and the men have employed building—Traded six beaver skins from Ats-say-lun and another Chink aye litz Indian. Fair weather.

28 Friday. Began building up the Indian hut. One man on the sick list. The Indians come in as usual with something to trade, however we will have but few for the month. Our oxen are now very much fatigued and on that account have stopt ploughing for a few days. Rained much last night [page 116]

Novr. 29 [1834] Saturday. The Indian hut completed, and now we are fairly settled for the winter in regard to indoor work. We shall now continue our ploughing and endeavor to get poles for our fences. The Indians from nigh at hand came in and brought us a few fresh salmon which are really very fat, so much so that it is impossible for me to eat any of them. The weather continues fair.

30 Sunday. This month trade is really poor and the Indians have so many on us that the expense of tobacco was more than usual.

56 Large Beaver	1 Chev skin
32 Small do.	1 Elk "
17 Otters	30 fresh Salmon
28 Rats	30 ps. D. "
2 Fishers	39 Geese
5 Racoons	192 Ducks
72 lb Cutting Beaver	14 Animals
	1 Keg Roots.

Decmr. 1st Monday. The ploughers are now ploughing up the ground near our potatoe field. Louis and Bourgeau have been employed at getting poles for fence work, and Aniscum Mc Donald was busy at repairing one of the ploughs Two Indians came to trade a Beaver but could not agree they have gone back. Rained last night but fair this day.

2 Tuesday. The men have been employed as yesterday. The rascally Indians have again taken off all the Iron work about our boat, in this they will continue until I can find out the villains and give them a drubbing. Passing showers all day.

3rd Wednesday. No change in our employments. Ploughing and getting fence poles as usual. The weather boisterous.

4th Thursday. The oxen got this day's rest. The men were all employed about getting fence poles excepting Mc Donald who was out cutting wood for the making two ploughs. Sin ne tee aye came with three skins he traded and left me not altogether well pleased, he is a scamp and I determined to bring him down. The night has been a very boisterous one and the day fair.

5 Friday. The ploughers did a little more work to day, and the rest employed as yesterday. Traded an Otter. Fair at intervals [page 118]

Decr. 6 [1834] We have now 1100 poles cut this week. Our poor oxen are now very much fatigued and require some rest after the ploughing is done. The weather continues Boisterous at night and in the day time we have partial showers. We traded one Beaver, an otter and some fresh meat.

7 Sunday. The day passed away without seeing any Indians, they are gone now all to winter quarters. Partial showers all day.

8 Monday. Brown and Mc Kee resumed their work at the plough. Louis and Bourgeau splitting fence poles. Anawiscum was busy at repairing a plough, and preparing wood for another. Ouvre doing little or nothing but attending Indians at their smoking. Reports of a shipwreck about the Chickalitz Bay[92] and four Officers drowned, this has come by an old woman; We are doing our best to find out the truth. Rained all day.

9 Tuesday. The men were put at their work of yesterday, but on the arrival of a Band of Klalums at noon I called the men home Master Jack of the Makah tribe being rather impudent I brought him to an account and sent him about his business. Paying some attention to the Klalum Chief. La ah let has gone to Vancouver by him I have sent a note to the Doctor. Fair weather.

[92]The bay referred to is Grays Harbor. The Indian report is erroneous.

10 Wednesday. This morning Master Jack was very submissive and the trade was carried on in a [page 119] manner to the satisfaction of all present. We got about 75 Beaver and 14 Otters besides a small quantity of Dried Salmon—Soon after dusk all the Klalums went away well pleased. Fair weather.

11th Thursday. The men were put at their various duties such as ploughing and making fence poles—The weather foggy.

12 Friday. The men at the same employment. This afternoon Challacum arrived from Mr. Yale accompanied by an Indian of that quarter who is going to join Mr Cowie. On opening Mr Yale's note I was much surprised to find that the Box sent containing all his letters, new Papers and apples was not opened but put aside for Captain Darby[93] an old address such as it was sent me. On this account I had to send back an express immediately in order to put that Gentleman to right in respect to the Box. The weather much the same.

13th Saturday. The same occupation for the men. The Express off for Langley. The Indians come in numbers but bring nothing to trade. Fair weather.

14 Sunday. Though about thirty Indians on the ground none came to trouble us. The weather foggy.

15 Monday. The men have resumed their work about ploughing and fence jobs. The weather the same. [page 120]

16th Tuesday. This morning John McKee and Louis continued the ploughing with the oxen round the potatoe field, the old ploughed ground was run over with the plough by the horses. Mc Donald always kept about the place making several utensils required. Brown and Bourgeau accompanied by Mr Cowie's body servant left this for Fort Vancover in order to apprise the Doctor with the news of this Post and that of Mr Yales place, besides informing him that no Ship had arrived. The Indians have traded a few more Beaver. Foggy weather.

17th Wednesday. The ploughing done for the present. The two men are set about cutting fence poles. Three Indians have cast up with a few skins. The weather fair, very cold mornings.

18 Thursday. Got the men at work about the Establishment plastering &c. for the winter appears to set in—Traded 5 Beaver and 1 Otter. The weather as yesterday.

19 Friday. The men employed as yesterday. The weather mild and cloudy.

[93]The identity of this person is not clear. In 1836 (more than a year subsequent to this entry) the steamship Beaver and the bark Columbia came to the northwest coast. A Captain Darby (or Derby) commanded the latter. There is a remote possibility that he is the person referred to.

20 Saturday. No change in our duty. Rained to day

21 Sunday—La-ah-let came back through fear and says that the Columbia is block up with ice. The note by him Brown took away. Rained a little in the morning [page 121]

22 Monday. All the men employed chopping wood for fires of the Establishment excepting Mc Donald who was busy at putting my dwelling house in order. The weather fine.

23 Tuesday. The men busy as yesterday. A few Indians arrived with a few skins which they traded and left us. Sin ne te ayes wife is also here with her Brother who are always employed hunting ducks. Cloudy weather.

24 Wednesday. The Fort was put into order and every house in it washed out. Indians go and come but no trade. It rained all day.

25 Thursday Christmas. All hands were allowed the best I had in the fort say ducks, Venison and each half pint of Rum. All quiet and no Indians. Mild weather but cloudy.

26 Friday. No work for the men. A couple of Indians arrived with a few beaver skins. The crows keep about us, and at times a Rook comes and gives the former chase. It rained at interval.

27 Saturday. Traded 8 Beaver skins and 1 Otter from the Indians who came yesterday. Weather continues cloudy.

28 Sunday. A very strong gale all night accompanied by rain, and to day we continued to have the same. It is mild for the season [page 122]

Decr. 29 Monday. The men employed at gathering up dung and laying it on the potatoe field. Mc Donald was busy at making a couple of chairs. The weather continues mild & rainy.

30 Tuesday. The two men of yesterday were employed to day at building a small shed for the calves. Mc Donald completed one of the chairs. Rainy weather.

31 Wednesday. The men variously employed. The Indians around us are drawing near understanding it to be a day of mirth tomorrow as the past new year. We shall however keep it to ourselves and rum amongst such brutes will not do. Trade of the month as follows:—

60 Large Beaver	169 pieces Dried Salmon
30 Small do.	161 Ducks
27 Otters	14 Geece and Crains
14 Rats	331 lbs Venison
1 Cub Blk Bear	1 Dress'd red Deer Skin
3 Minks	5 Dress'd Chev do
	1 Canoe

7 Bladders Oil besides a few roots and Berries [page 123]

JANUARY 1835

1st Thursday. This day according to custom I gave the best rations I had in store with each one pint of rum after getting a few drams and cakes in my sitting room. They behaved well and the Indians being few were regaled with a dram each and a pipe of Tobacco. In the evening Brown and Bourgeau arrived from Vancouver with letters dated the 22nd. Ultmo. They had a very unpleasant voyage coming owing to ice in the Columbia and the high water in the portage. Sinne tre aye came with them and contributed much towards their coming as they could not cross one river without him—In that case I made him a present of a Blanket and took him once again into favor. The news brought is that the Stikeen party were back the Russians would not let them proceed up the river.[94]. The Vancouver[95] was lost on Queen Charlotte's Island and the Officers and Crew escaped but with much risk as the natives were near killing them—The weather cloudy and rain fell in the forenoon, fair afterwards

2nd Friday. The men have not been ordered to work nor will they be till Monday next. The weather fair and cold.

3rd Saturday. Nothing stirring about us; the natives mostly off the ground. It rained very much during the night past, I have a common black bottle out to which is a tin funnel inverted of 8 inches diameter

[94]In 1834, the Hudson's Bay Company decided to establish a post on the Stikeen river, in British territory. The expedition sent out for this purpose was under the command of Peter Skeen Ogden, William Fraser Tolmie and A. C. Anderson, assisting, and was equipped with the Dryad and a full complement of stores. According to a treaty of 1825, Great Britain had a right to use the Russian rivers to gain access to her own territory but, despte the treaty, the Russians, who had anticipated the movement of the Hudson's Bay Company, decided to block it and, when Ogden arrived at the river's mouth, he found a blockhouse, the corvette Tally-ho, and two fourteen-oared gunboats ready to prevent his passage. Shortly after the Dryad had anchored, a small boat put out from shore, and a young Russian officer presented Ogden with a paper containing a proclamation from Governor Wrangel, which forbad both English and American ships to enter Clarence strait. To this proclamation Ogden made strong protest, and affirmed that his company had no intention to enter Clarence strait. As the young officer spoke no language but Russian, the interview was short; but the following day an officer of higher rank, accompanied by an interpreter, visited Ogden. The later again made his protest, and reaffirmed that the Hudson's Bay Company had no intention to enter Clarence strait, but merely wished to use the Stikeen river to gain access to British territory, in accordance with the principles set down in the treaty. Thereupon, the Russian broadly hinted that the effect upon the Russian trade would be the same in either case, as a fort at Stikeen or thirty miles inland would carry the trade with it, and the Russian government would secure no advantage in owning the shore line. Ogden was forced to retire, as he had no authority to give battle. In the diplomatic bickering which followed, the Hudson's Bay Company, besides money damages, received Fort Wrangel, and a lease to a considerable shore strip. Consult: H. H. Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, II, 628 ff.

[95]The schooner Vancouver was built at Fort Vancouver in 1826 and was of 150 tons burden, but poorly constructed and a losing proposition from the beginning. She was wrecked on Rose Spit, Queen Charlotte Islands, her commander, Captain Duncan, having run her aground in broad daylight. See: ante, note 13.

and this morning [page 124] I found 2¾ inches in the bottle.—Fair and most delightful weather all day—

4th Sunday. The Indians have been more about us to day than usual, but all was quiet. It rained much during the night and fair all day.

5th Monday. Four men have been put at cutting fence poles, and McDonald mending chimnies. Traded some venison. The rain has been so much during the night that I found my bottle just full. Fair all day, the air colder towards evening.

6th Tuesday. This afternoon Letters were received from Mr. Yale who wishes me to send a Boat for assisting in bringing some provisions. I have ordered a couple of men to repair the only one we have, and shall forward it with three men and two Indians. More poles cut this day. Our horse and cow keeper has got into bad humour and has left us; previous however I took away the property he got for his winters duty. It rained all night, though it was clear in the evening. To day we had several showers.

7 Wednesday. The men employed at the Boat. No trade of skins of any kind. It rained mostly all night and partial showers to day. [page 125]

8 Thursday. This morning about eleven o'clock Anawiscum, Louis and Brown with two Indians off in the Boat to Mr. Yale for provisions. The men now at the place three in number will be kept nigh at hand in ease of arrivals. Rained again last night and some showers towards the evening.

9 Friday. The two left to work were employed nigh hand. Several Indians arrived to trade; Neilam, Mr Yale's Comorade and the Yackamaw Chiefs Brother; they have some Beaver skins. It rained all night. To day partly fair.

10 Saturday. A number of Indians round us kept the men in doors mending chimnies Traded 38 Beavers and 3 Otters from the Indians above mentioned. At one P. M. the bottle out in the rain was full making the second since the beginning of the month. It rained all day.

11 Sunday. The Indians have assembled to smoke a pipe in peace among themselves. Neidlum, the rogue, left us well pleased. The rain fell so thick that this evening the bottle was found ful—

12 Monday. The men were employed chopping firewood. It rained again last night and fair to day.

13 Tuesday. The same busy times for the men The moon shone

bright till about midnight then a little more rain—Fair all this day. [page 126]

14 Wednesday. McKee and Bourgeau were employed at ploughing a small piece of ground near the Fort. The Cattle were kept indoors all day and night In the evening 15 Poo-leul-lop-pas arrived with little or nothing to trade. Last night we got a severe frost to day it became mild and rain fell.

15 Thursday. Men kept employed as usual. Traded a few skins and some venison. It rained a little during the night but fair all day.

16 Friday. The men ended their ploughing and have resumed their chopping. A little more rain the night past and at intervals during the day; the sun when it appeared was heating as in spring.

17 Saturday. The men kept at chopping near the Fort Many Indians about us, and the most of them beggars. The night was beautiful and the moon appeared bright during it. To day it was fair and warm, so much so that flies were seen outside of the fort.

18 Sunday. The Indians about the place have all gone to La ah let to pass the day by request from him. This afternoon the Frenchman with a pis caw house Chief arrived with furs to trade. It rained from ten in the morning till night.

19 Monday. This morning the men were put to chopping wood. Traded 15 beaver [page 127] skins and two otters. We had a strong south east gale all night accompanied by rain. This morning about eight the plurometer was full—Fair rest of the day, till towards evening then cloudy.

20 Tuesday. The men kept employed about the place on account of the numerous Indians about us. The Frenchman and party off. Closed our years business. Inventory taken and our returns this month is 62 Large Beaver, 22 Small do, 2 Fishers, 7 Minks, 11 Rats, 14 Otters and 1 Racoon, 9 animals 230 pcs dried salmon, 6 fresh do. 50 Ducks and 2 Geese.

This year's returns are as follows commencing from March 1st 1834 and ending 20 January '35 making only ten and 2/3 months trade.

33	Large Bear Black.	80	Minks
13	Small " "	700	Rats
1038	Large Beaver	1	Sea Otter
12	Small Do	340	Land do
29	lbs Cutting do.	190	Racoons
9	Fishers	2	Elk Skins

40 Chev do 170 fam Hyouquois

It rained for the most part of the night and to day also [page 129; page 128 is blank]

21 Wednesday. The men have been employed at repairing the road down to the Sound—part of the day—and the remainder part chopping and bringing home firewood. This forenoon a few So qua mish arrived headed by a young man who is rising up a new religion. He came on purpose to see me, but as yet has not made up his mind to speak in respect to his vision of celestial beings. It is reported that in a dream he was presented with a written paper and 18 Blankets from above, the latter are invisible, but the former the Indians say he has about him. They have brought a few skins to trade. Asselim has also come with 1 Beaver, this fellow is one of the greatest liers in the country, he told at first he had ten skins at his lodge, but all turns out to be a lie. The night was stormy part of it, and the day was really delightful. This is I must say unexpected weather the sun was as bright and the day was as warm as in spring.

22 Thursday. The men still employed about us. The So qua mish have left us and taken their Beaver with them not agreeing in price The weather as yesterday.

23 Friday. To day the So-qua-mish returned and traded—Fair weather at intervals [page 130]

24 Saturday. The men were splitting firewood. The weather fair some rain during the night

25 Sunday. More rain in the course of the night and partial showers all day. The Indians had their devotional party near the Fort. the bottle full.

26th Monday. The men variously employed. About noon Challacum and lady arrived from Mr Yale with the accounts &c of Fort Langley. All well. The boat sent from this reached Langley on the 13th mid-day and they will be here in a day or two if the wind keeps under. Cloudy weather and partial showers in course of the day.

27 Tuesday. This morning sent off John McKee and Bourgeau & family to Vancouver with the accounts of this place and Langley. An Indian is gone with them to take charge of the horses. I am now left with only Ouvre in the Fort, and surrounded with a large party of Indians. Showers during the night and forepart of the day, fair after.

28th Wednesday. Late last evening The Boat manned by our three men and two Indians arrived, the property was got up this morning, all appear in good order. About ten Dominigan Farron started

to overtake the party going to Vancouver and with it he is to continue. Rained a little at night and some to day. Our plurometer full this morning. [page 131] Articles received from Langley as follows viz

23	Bags	Pease	35	Bushels	
24	"	Potatoes	35	"	
3	"	Wheat	5	"	
1	"	Corn	1½	"	
1	"ear " & Onions				10 Mats
1	Keg Pork. 4 Gallons				2 Axes repaired
2	"Lard	2	"	ea	2 Hooks.
	Some Sausages				1 Bag Flour

29 Thursday. The men have rested after their voyage. Indians are gathering strong about us and gambling. We have at least eight men on the ground of six different tribes. The weather clear all night and to day it was fair and charming.

30 Friday. Got the dung put on our potatoe field and hay brought into the stable. Hill Indians coming in, some not sure of themselves. Delightful weather.

31 Saturday. Got more firewood brought home. The Indians are still coming in, and a small party went home. The weather has been fair and warm all day, the night was clear and a little cold. The trade from the 20th Instant is as follows:

44	Large Beaver	27	Musquash
24	Small "	11	Land Otters
2	Fishers	23	Racoons
2	Martins	1	Elk Skin
1	Mink	2	Chev do [page 132]

FEBRUARY—1835—

February 1st Sunday. We have had a great party of Indians about us all day. This morning the Chiefs attended on me for the sake of getting information of living well, and as there was a young man who understood the Flat Head language among the party, I thought proper to give them instructions respecting our duty to the Giver of Life as also the duty to one another. All what I said was taken in good part and fair promises for the future. The dance was well conducted and all behaved well. This devotional mode was for the present adopted and given to Indians as a mark of their showing they were pleased that they knew who their Creator was. There was

at least three hundred Indians on the ground. It rained during the night and the day was cloudy.

2 Monday. The Indians have mostly all left us we have now about a dozen Yackamaws by us. The weather cloudy and a little rain fell in the night—

3rd Tuesday. The men employed at making a new road. The Yackamaw traded and took their departure. Two strangers arrived with a few Beaver besides we are again visited by the beggars Sin ne tei yea and La ah let. Most delightful weather, flies about us and in the evening frogs were croaking [page 133] all around, prospects of fine weather.

4th Wednesday. The men employed at the road. Indians go and come and always bring something to trade. The weather has been clear all day, in the evening it became cloudy.

5th Thursday. Louis employed at hauling up the fence poles. Traded several Beaver skins. The weather foggy. The frogs still keep up their croaking at night.

6 Friday. The men have been employed at chopping down trees that are on our new road to the sound. This has been a foggy morning and fair the rest of the day.

7 Saturday. Chopping wood and clearing about the place were the duty of the men for the day. Sin nei tre ays and La ah let have at last left us. The weather still as yesterday.

8 Sunday. The Indians all at home none came to trouble us. About ten Cowlitz arrived on a visit to the natives. The weather as before.

9 Monday. The men employed about the place. The Cowlitz off to their homes. Sin nee tee aye and La ah let came on a visit, the former traded two otters, they are both away. The fog was so thick that it fell from the trees like a shower. We had a small shower in the afternoon [page 134]

10 Tuesday. Louis the Iroquois was out cutting fence poles and Mc Donald was busy getting firewood in the morning in the afternoon he began making a couple of ploughs. Indians are coming in daily but bring in nothing to trade. The So qua mish juggler mentioned on the 21st Ulto. is again doing wonders about his tribe—it is said he has a coat covered with dollars and is making presents to the natives by giving them Blankets of Cloth this is to be a yearly custom with him therefore they (his friends) will be well off. It rained much last night and cloudy part of the day but quite mild

11 Wednesday. Louis at the fence poles and Mc Donald making

ploughs, say repairing them. It rained much and this morning our plurometer was found full at 8 o'clock.

12 Thursday. The same duty for the men Rained all night and this day at nine P. M. the Bottle was full. In the afternoon the weather was fair.

13 Friday. To day the men that is to say Louis and Mc Donald were both employed as yesterday. The Indians come and go as usual, but very little trade. Delightful clear weather.

14 Saturday. Men kept employed about the place Several Indians have cast up and brought us some fresh meat. The weather cloudy and a little rain fell. [page 135]

15 Sunday. We have had several Indians on the ground paying their usual devotion. The weather has been various during the night and day partial showers. This afternoon six men arrived from Vancouver and I am happy to say that our transactions for the post outfit has been found satisfactory by all the great wigs of that place. Three of the men are to remain here and the others are to go to Langley. Our plurometer full.

16 Monday. Sent off the Langley men. The men newly arrived are resting and the others did a ltitle work. The weather Fair.

17th Tuesday. Began repairing our fences. Indians are gathering on us, but very little trade is effected. The weather delightful.

18 Wednesday. Many Indians on the ground for the purpose of celebrating a marriage between a Scay waw mish lad and a Chickayelitz girl. On the side of the young man 8 Guns, 10 mountain Goat skins, and a slave were given in a present, the young woman's friends gave an equivalent. We traded a few beaver skins. The men were employed at fence work. Foggy morning fair afternoon—

19 Thursday. The men have been employed at the fence, that is Louis, Dominique, Quennell & Mowat at the above work. Anawiskum [page 136] Mc Donald was employed squaring wood for a barn and Ouvre as usual attending on the Indians. The Chief Challacum paid me a visit before leaving me for his land on an affair of importance a report has come to him that the So qua mish juggler was charged with robbing the dead and it is in this way that he made presents. The Chief came to me for advice in respect how the rascal was to be punished. I told him to gather the great men of his tribe and act according to their decision "for my part" says he "I shall banish him from my country never to return in fact he ought to be killed for such a crime" I said it was a very proper punishment that of banishment it would hurt him more than Death itself. The old man left me well

pleased and determined on doing the justice he proposed. The weather foggy morning and clear the remaining part of the day. Two animals got from the Natives.

20 Friday. The men employed as follows. Four at getting fence poles, and the other drawing dung and rotten hay on the potatoe field. This morning got the Scay waw mish to trade after giving one of the most troublesome a blow over the shoulders with butt end of my gun. Some hail fell today and then rain. Ouvre made 51 Candles.

21st Saturday. Mc Donald returned to his barn wood and the rest of the men at fence wood. It rained much night & day. A few strangers arrived with some furs. [page 137]

22nd Sunday. Indians from nigh hand were here to pass the day. I made them understand the villainous conduct of the So quash mish juggler and hope that none of them present would do the like. Keep on good terms with one another in that way you will always do well. Cloudy weather and a little rain fell towards evening.

23rd Monday. The men have resumed their work. Indians leaving us for their quarters. Last evening our Plurometer was full. About four this morning it began to snow at eight we had about and inch and a half on the ground, then the weather cleared up and before night the snow disappeared.

24 Tuesday. The same duty for the men. This morning we had snow after a very cold clear night—only half an inch on the ground, the weather clearing up about eight, the snow partly disappeared Traded several Beaver skins from the Pendent Oreilles slave, say: "Tay Kill" by name.

25 Wednesday. Two men employed at hauling out fence wood, and boring the holes through the pickets while another was busy at sharpening one end of them. Anawiscum was employed in squaring wood and Ouvre still doing little or nothing about the place. The Pendent Oreilles Slave Tah Kill took his departure Hard frost last night the ice in the kegs ½ inch thick [page 138]

26 Thursday. The men have been employed as yesterday An Indian fell sick but through our care he got better, and for our thanks he was caught at stealing away from us a blanket which we lent him in the act of sweating him—The night we had a frost and to day it was cold, the wind north.

27 Friday. Kept the men employed at getting pickets for our gardens near the establishment. A party of seventeen Yackamaws arrived with a few skins. An inch of snow on the ground this morn-

ing and it snowed all day, the weather mild, at night three inches on the ground.

28th Saturday. From the bad state of the weather the men have been employed at chopping wood near the place About the middle part of the night it commenced raining and continued so all day. The snow mostly all gone. Trade of the month as follows,

73	Large	Beaver	53	Musquash
27	small	do	6	Chev Skins
1½	lb Cutting	do	1	Black Bear Appichiman
16	Otters		10	Animals (the meat of
41	Racoons		30	Dried Salmon & 5 Fresh do
16	Minks		5	Ducks [page 139]

March 1st Sunday. The natives were all very quiet The weather has been stormy all night, about ten this morning it cleared up and became fine & clear. The Plurometer full.

2nd Monday. Louis, Quenelle, Dominique, and Mowat were employed at fence making. Anawiscum is stilling squaring [filling] up pieces for the Barn. Fine warm weather, wind.

3rd Tuesday. The same duties for the men as yesterday. The Indians nigh hand pay us a daily visit for the sake of smoking our tobacco The weather hads been fair during the night and continued so till 2 a. m. after cloudy and partial showers.

4 Wednesday. No change in our duties Weather fair.

5 Thursday. The men still doing the same work putting up fences round our field of wheat. The weather has been cloudy for the most part of night and day; a little rain fell toward this evening.

6 Friday. The same routine of employment for the men excepting old Quenelle who is laid up from his rupture. Examined the Bales of furs and found that a few skins got wet by drops of rain falling on them. The weather fair; a strong gale during the night. [page 140]

7 Saturday. Mc Donald, Louis and Dominique were employed all day at splitting fence poles. Mowat was busy harrowing the field in which we are to put our seed potatoes. Quinelle still ailing and Ouvre doing little or nothing about the place. Traded a couple of Beaver skins. Weather overcast all day. rain commenced in the evening.

8 Sunday. The few Indians about the place kept themselves very quiet. It rained at intervals.

9 Monday. Three men employed at fence wood Mowat still harrowing. Quenelle unwell Traded a few skins About noon the bottle

that is out to measure the quantity of rain that falls was found full and the weather still continued boisterous hail and rain till the evening when it became fair.

10 Tuesday. Quenelle has resumed work, and the rest of the men at their various employments An Indian has been hired to assist at hauling out the fence poles The weather fair at intervals.

11 Wednesday. The men have done the fence about the wheat field. harrowing continued. La ah let has arrived with a fourth wife, this Indian makes the great man and at best he is hereabouts as a beggar. It is his wives that feed him. The weather fair foggy mornings. [page 141]

12 Thursday. A new fence is making round a small spot of ground intended for a kitchen garden, which was again ploughed over. Ouvre has been employed making horse collars. This afternoon Louis Delonais arrived from Langley sent hither as desired by Mr. Chief Factor McLaughlin to make up my seventh man—Mr. Yale writes me that the party sent from here on the 16th Ulto. got up there and all is well about him. Delightful weather—foggy morning.

13th Friday. The men employed as usual about fences. Fair weather.

14 Saturday. Louis, Dominique, Delonais and Quenelle have been busy at getting a fence up round a spot of ground west of the Fort. Mowat kept at harrowing. Anawiscum and made up a few bales of furs. The weather cloudy a part of the day, and a little rain fell.

15 Sunday. The Indians assembled here for the day. The weather cloudy most part of the day.

16 Monday. Our fence round the west garden completed and the men have begun to fence in the ground laid up for our potatoes. The packs done and everything in a forward state for meeting the vessel. Fair weather. Three kegs of potatoes put in the west garden. [page 142]

17 Tuesday. The harrowing continued and the fence work also. The weather cloudy.

18 Wednesday. The same routine of employment for all hands. It rained during the night. We put a few garden seeds in the ground such as radishs, carrots, Turnips, onions, [cresses], lettuce, Broom corn and a keg of potatoes. Our apple plants look well.

19 Thursday. The work getting on as usual. More seeds put in the garden Traded a few Beaver skins More rain in the day and night. Our plurometer full.

20 Friday. No change in our duties. Indians have come in

but brought very little to trade. We got the meat of two animals. Rather cold during the night. The weather to day has been partially cloudy.

21st Saturday. The fence around the potatoe field completed and the field east end of the Lake[96] is now ready for the second plowing. Our wheat looks well. Challacum is arrived and I am told that the thief of the Dead is banished from his lands. No news of the ship coming. Fine weather.

22 Sunday. Many Indians on the ground; the meat of four animals got. It rained at intervals. [page 143]

23rd Monday. The harrowing and fence making resumed. Several Indians have arrived but as usual in need, and nothing to trade. Our plurometer full Cloudy and rain.

24th Tuesday. Our daily employment continued The Chief Challicum is getting a small piece of ground cleared for the purpose of planting a keg of potatoes got from Mr Yale. Snowed and rained at intervals.

25 Wednesday. We could not harrow on account of the weather. The men were employed at the fence excepting Anawiskum who was busy at making a horse waggon in order to relieve our poor oxen. Challicum off on a fishing excursion. Ta Kill the Yackamaw Chief formerly a Prisoner of War at the Pendent Oreilles has arrived with a beaver. This young man speaks the language I understand and with him I can convey all what I wish to say to the tribes hereabouts. The night and day have been very disagreeable continually raining with a strong westerly wind

26 Thursday. The same employment for the men. The rain has filled up our plurometer.

27 Friday. No change in our duties The afternoon the Chief Frenchmen cast up with some furs to trade. It rained all night and day. Our bottle again full this evening. [page 144]

28th Saturday. The fence round our new spot for sowing wheat and Barley is now completed. The Frenchman is an Indian altogether spoiled having been too highly treated here by the person in charge for outfit 33, this day he wished me to lend him a horse for riding about, and because I did not act according to his wishes got into the sulks however I did not mind him, but sent him to the Indian Hall to smoke. Got part of our seed potatoes cut. We traded the meat

[96]This is evidently Old Fort Lake, a small slough southeast of the old fort. The lake is laid down on Huggin's map, contained in Volume I of the Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, but does not appear on Inskip's Map of 1846.

of 8 animals and a half. Rained again most part of the day. A very strong gale during the night

29th Sunday. The day passed away as usual. The natives though numerous were all quiet. Partial showers. Our plurometer full.

30 Monday. Ploughing commenced. Mc Donald was busy making a waggon. Rained again and our bottle full this evening.

31st Tuesday. We resumed our ploughing. A bushel and a half of wheat sowed. Two men employed at splitting more poles and pickets for renewing the fence of last year which is now coming down. Mc Donald made ear to one of the ploughs. Dominique sick. Partial showers of rain and hail. The trade of the month, 35 Large Beaver, 8 small ditto, 1½ lb. Cuttings, 6 Otters, 27 Racoons, 2 Minks, 29 Rats, 2 Bear skins, 3 Wolves, 1 Fisher, 20 wood Rats, 6 Chev skins, 9½ animals. [page 145]

April 1st Wednesday. Two men splitting fence poles. One sowing and harrowing, one plowing, and Mc Donald always working and repairing useful articles. We put in 21 quarts of clean wheat and 4½ Bushel potatoes in the ground next to the small river. Our garden seeds are coming on well. Plomondon's Brother in Law has arrived from Vancouver Tells us that the Dryad is off to Wahoo and that the Cadboro is on her way hither. Traded a few skins from the natives. Fair weather, the morning cool.

2 Thursday. The same employment for the men. A bushel of wheat put again into the above field. Louis is now plowing the field on the Nisqually road in order to sow our pease. Fair weather.

5 Sunday. This morning Neidham and the Borgeau arrived, they tell us that yesterday they heard the report of a cannon as coming from Cape Flattery. There has been five different tribes on the ground, as usual a little disagreement amongst them. This is owing principally to Chiefs who are jealous of one another. The natives of the place performed their devotion without regard to the strangers. This afternoon Niedlam came into the Shop to trade and only two beaver skins were got; he wanted to give me 1 Large and 1 Small for a blanket this I could not agree—he is off to his lands. Fair weather.

6 Monday. Three men at the fence, one sowing and harrowing, one plowing, one working about the place and one attending to the Indians. We have got 3½ Gallons of Indian Corn sowed by the women. The weather cloudy. Neidlam came back and traded.

7 Tuesday. Four bushels of pease sowed. The men employed as usual. A party of Chickayelitz arrived and traded a dozen of

skin most of them for rum. They were drunk and fighting among themselves on the beach. Some rain fell in course of the day. Ouvre sick.

8 Wednesday. The men at the fence finished their job about noon to day, and have been employed since at taking down a Chimney. Three bushels of Pease sowed. Challacum is building a hut next to ours that is out for strangers. Indians all away. Fair weather. [page 147]

9 Thursday. The ploughers and sowers continue their work The rest of the men employed about the place. Challacum away to his land. Three more bushels of Pease sowed. Partial showers in course of the day.

10 Friday. The same employment for all hands. Two and a half bushels of pease sowed making 12½ in the ground belonging to our last year crop. Very few Indians about us. We had a shower of hail and then rain late in the afternoon.

11 Saturday. Three bushels of Langley Pease sowed Work getting on as usual. Indians do little or nothing. It rained some in course of the day. I am sorry to say that poor Ouvre is still ailing and appears not sound in his mind.

12 Sunday. All quiet about us. Weather fair. Our bottle out for the rain was found full this morning.

13th Monday. Louis at the plough. Mowat sowing and harrowing. Three men cutting more fence wood, Mc Donald working about the place—Ouvre a little better in health. Three more bushels of Langley pease sowed. Thick fog in the morning—The night rather cold. Fair day.

14 Tuesday. The fence wood all on the ground where it is wanted. The last 1½ bushels Pease making [page 148] as follows

12½ bushels of Nesqually Pease
7½ " of Langley do.

20 Total

besides 1½ bushel, pease, we have 2 ditto of barley in the ground McDonald was busy at planing boards for lining my sitting room. The weather as yesterday.

15th Wednesday. The plougher has been at work with three others putting up a fence 2 Bushels of Barley sowed and the ground harrowed Ouvre still unwell. The weather fair at intervals.

16th Thursday. The last barley sowed making 6 kegs in the ground we have also a gallon of oats. Our duty of sowing is now

over and our ground seems to be in fine order. Traded a few beaver skins from Indians nigh us. Fair weather.

17th Friday. This being Good Friday I did not order the men to work excepting a little duty about the house. Sin ne tee aye has arrived with his family &c and as usual troublesome in the way of getting rum. The weather fair in the morning partial showers in the afternoon. The seed in the ground as follows

20	bushels	Pease
35	"	Potatoes
10	"	Fall wheat
5	"	red do.
½	"	Corn
6	"	Barley
⅛	"	Oats [page 149]

18 Saturday. The men employed as usual. Fair weather

19 Sunday. The day passed away in quietness—Fair weather

20 Monday. The men squaring wood for the Barn. The weather cloudy at intervals

21 Tuesday. The same duty going on. About ¼ past six this evening the Cadboro, Captain Duncan Master, hove in sight below the Island. The weather cloudy.

22 Wednesday. Late last night the schooner anchored and to day all our property was put in store. The weather in the morning cloudy, and we got a fine shower. Fair towards three afternoon.

23 Thursday. Work getting on as usual. The schooner was getting in water and ballast. Indians coming on us from all quarters with furs. Fair weather.

24 Friday. This day one of our oxen died on getting on board every precaution was taken but of no use. Sent to Mr. Yale 2 Oxen, 4 Horses and a Colt. The vessel off. The duty of the place getting on—Fair weather.

25 Saturday. All safe and everything getting on. Indians troublesome for reducing the tariff. Fair weather.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE OPERATION OF THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL IN OREGON. By James D. Barnett, Ph. D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Oregon. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915. Pp. 295. $2.00.)

This book, as its title indicates, is a practical rather than theoretical study. It has an appendix containing the bibliography of the "Oregon system," constitutional and statutory provisions relating to the initiative, referendum and recall, a list of all measures submitted to the people and the votes for and against, from 1904 to 1914, and also sample material from various sources illustrative of the method of conducting a campaign for or against a referendum measure.

"Beginning with 1892," Professor Barnett tells us, "a campaign for the adoption of the initiative and referendum was carried on with tireless effort, under the remarkable leadership of W. S. U'Ren, aided by the Joint Committee on Direct Legislation, later broadened into the Direct Legislation League (the forerunner of the People's Power League), with the result that after ten years the system was embodied in the constitution. Advocated by the granges, the labor unions, and the Populist party, it had finally been indorsed both by the Republican and Democratic parties."

The book is not argumentative. The author's purpose in writing it was to present and interpret the facts. Professor Barnett has brought together in this volume and made accessible much interesting and valuable information concerning the merits and defects of the "Oregon system."

Concerning the complaint so often made that initiative measures have been crudely drawn, he says that "although there has been at times good ground for such complaint, on the whole the measures submitted through the initiative compare well in form with the legislation enacted by the assembly."

The circulation of petitions has been a real problem. In a few instances petitions "have been circulated wholly by volunteers interested in the good of the cause involved." But in most cases even when measures were proposed and supported by strong organizations such as the People's Power League, the State Grange, or the State Federation of Labor, it was necessary to resort to paid circulators to secure

the required number of names. To the suggestion that giving or receiving money for circulating petitions should be made a criminal offense, the author replies that "it seems that the prohibition would result in hampering those acting in good faith without preventing the unscrupulous from acting in violation of the law. Great business interests, acting through their armies of employees, could probably easily evade the provision..... There is a great deal of opinion to the effect that the provision would practically destroy the legitimate use of the initiative and referendum, especially in view of the fact that heretofore many measures, clearly favored by the people, could not have been placed on the ballot without the aid of paid circulators."

Professor Barnett seems to think, however, that the circulation of petitions is not a necessary feature of the initiative and referendum. It might be a better plan to have petitions signed only at registration offices. But this change would make it necessary to reduce the required percentage of signers. To prohibit the circulation of petitions without reducing the required percentage would in his opinion probably render the initiative and referendum inoperative.

The over-use of the initiative and referendum he attributed to a number of causes, such as the desire of the people to use a new tool, the failure of the legislature to enact needed legislation, the ease of securing signatures and the resubmission of defeated measures.

The large number of measures appearing on the ballot makes it extremely difficult to cast an intelligent vote. "It is no reflection upon the intelligence of the voters to say that it is absolutely impossible for them adequately to consider such masses of legislative proposals." Nevertheless, the educational effect of the system, Professor Barnett thinks, is of great value.

There is some check on the over-use of the referendum in the disposition of many voters to vote against measures which they do not understand. The experience of Oregon shows that as the number of measures on the ballot increases, the proportion defeated is also likely to increase. Measures of a technical nature and consequently difficult for the public to understand, local measures which do not interest the state at large, and those backed by narrow selfish interests are likely to be rejected at the polls.

"In spite of the difficulties in the situation," the author says, "the results of the several elections are, in general, competent evidence as to the intelligence of the vote cast. That the voters have done remarkably well under the circumstances is generally conceded, even by the opponents of direct legislation.

The abuse of the emergency clause by the legislature has to some extent threatened the effectiveness of the referendum. "Five candidates for the office of governor in 1914 promised in case of election to use the veto power to prevent the abuse of the emergency clause." And yet nearly one-fifth of the acts passed in 1915 were emergency laws.

In the opinion of Professor Barnett, the effect of direct legislation upon the legislature has been, generally speaking, beneficial. It has lessened the amount of corruption in that body; has increased rather than diminished the legislator's sense of responsibility, and has furnished protection against the ever present danger that the legislature will mistake the clamor of special interests for public opinion.

Professor Barnett's account of the "Oregon system" in operation is a valuable addition to the literature of this subject.

J. Allen Smith.

History of Education in Iowa, Volume III. By Clarence Ray Aurner. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1915. Pp. xii+464. $2.)

This book—the third volume in a proposed six-volume work—deals with the development of secondary education in the state of Iowa, the first two volumes having treated the beginnings of elementary education. The student of the history of education will find the sections on the Academy particularly interesting. The history of the rise, growth and decline of the Academy in Iowa, is especially suggestive as typical of this interesting phase of the development of secondary education in the United States. The establishment of private normal schools and institutions for training for business pursuits is very properly treated in this connection, representing as they do an early movement toward vocational training as distinguished from the college preparatory function of the academy. The public high school movement is carefully traced from the beginnings in the middle of the past century to the present day, a most difficult task in view of the lack of legislative direction. In the printing and binding, as well as in content, the book maintains the uniformly high standard of the publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The students of education in Iowa are fortunate in having an account of education in the state as comprehensive and reliable as this work promises to be when completed. Furthermore, this history of education will no doubt serve as an example and stimulus for histo-

rians in other states. It is to be hoped that Washington will be among the first to follow in making a reliable record of the beginnings and development of this most important feature in our civilization. Here is a great opportunity for a student of history and education in the state of Washington. PAUL J. KRUSE.

SPENCER FULLERTON BAIRD: A BIOGRAPHY. By William Healey Dall. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1915. Pp. 462. $3.50.)

"The two men who have exerted the strongest influence upon natural history studies in this country are Louis Agassiz and Professor Baird." This judgment of the late Dr. J. S. Billings indicates the importance of the present and first adequate biography of Spencer Fullerton Baird.

The subject of this notable biography was for thirty-seven years in the scientific service of the United States Government. During his entire career he was directly or indirectly concerned in the organization and administration of the scientific work of the numerous surveys and explorations sent out by the Government. He was in Washington City as a youth of nineteen when the collections from the now famous Wilkes Exploring Expedition were being received by the Museum of the Patent Office. So interested did he become in the scientific material which he there saw that he at once applied for a position as curator. He failed to secure the position but in 1850 became Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and later Secretary of this Organization which position he held through life. Under his direction, the natural history reports of many of the surveys of the West were prepared and he personally wrote the two volumes of the Pacific Railroad Survey devoted to mammals and birds.

The volume contains many selections from Professor Baird's correspondence with Audubon, Agassiz, Dana and other scientists of note and is so full of human interest that anyone, regardless of profession, will find it a delightful book to read. The author, Dr. W. H. Dall, has written many books and monographs on Alaska and the Northwest and has been a curator of the United States National Museum since 1880.

COLLECTIONS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. VOLUME 13, 1913-1914. Edited by William E. Connelley. (Topeka, State Printer, 1915. Pp. 602.)

This volume will prove of value in the Pacific Northwest by rea-

son of an able and suggestive paper by W. E. Connelley upon "National Aspects of the Old Oregon Trail." Painstaking care is evidenced in the preparation and editing of the entire volume. Much of fact and incident is here collected for the use of present and future students. A fifty-seven page, double-column index is furnished.

California, 1849-1913; Or, The Rambling Sketches and Experiences of Sixty-Four Years' Residence in That State. (Oakland, DeWitt and Snelling, 1913. Pp. 48. $.50.)

Here is the unpretentious story of a '49-er from Vermont. The narrative begins with the trip over the Oregon Trail from Independence, Missouri. Many incidents are related bearing upon early mining days in the Golden State.

Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century. By Herbert Eugene Bolton. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1915. Pp. 501. $3.25 paper, $3.50 cloth.)

The sub-title is Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration. It is Volume III in the University of California Publicatons in History. Professor Bolton has made himself an authority on the history of the Southwest. This large work, based on the original sources, may well be accepted as final on its definite time and place. The book is illustrated with maps and diagrams. In dignity and scholarship it reflects credit on the great institution from which it is issued.

Michigan Historical Collections. (Lansing, Michigan Historical Commission, 1915. Pp. 601.)

This is Volume XXXIX of the Collections. It is packed with valuable materials pertaining to the history of Michigan. It is a fine example of what an enterprising state can do toward preserving the record of men and events important in the annals of the commonwealth.

The Military Obligation of Citizenship. By Leonard Wood. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1916. Pp. 76. 75 cents net.)

The distinguished Major General, United States Army, gave an address at Princeton on April 15, 1915, on "The Policy of the United

States in Raising and Maintaining Armies." To this has been added two other addresses: "The Military Obligation of Citizenship" and "The Civil Obligation of the Army," both delivered in 1915. The three addresses comprise the contents with an introduction by John Grier Hibben, President of Princeton University.

Though the book has no particular bearing on the Pacific Northwest, it is of interest at this time to citizens of all parts of America.

Miscellaneous Writings of F. B. Hawes. Edited by Ed. M. Hawes. (Everett, Wash., Hawes Press, 1915. Pp. 53.)

In the foreword the son gives this brief biography of his father: "Ferdinand B. Hawes was born at Fox Lake, Wisconsin, on October 11, 1858. After his father's death in the Union army, he was educated in the Soldiers' Children's School in Wisconsin, and there learned the shoemaker's trade. Later he attended the State Normal School and after graduating there took up school teaching which he followed continuously, with the exception of a brief experience in the publishing business, until 1900. Then with the belief, as he expressed it, that 'the world has but little use for superannuated school teachers,' he left the Superintendency of the Olympia Schools to enter business in Everett, where he continued until his accidental death on October 26th, 1908."

The little pamphlet reveals the thought of F. B. Hawes. He hated and combatted sham. He had a lively humor and a tender sentiment. These qualities show in the essays, speeches, letters and poems. Only one hundred and twenty copies of the book were printed by the family for relatives and friends.

Indian Legends. By Marion Foster Washburne. (Chicago, Rand McNally & Company, 1915. Pp. 144.)

This little book is for children. The legends have been selected from various tribes only a few of which are mentioned for purposes of identification. Aids are given, such as a brief bibliography, for further readings about Indians.

The Mastering of Mexico. By Kate Stephens. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916. Pp. 335.)

This is an effort to tell once more the thrilling story of the conquest of Mexico by Cortez and his handful of Spaniards. The story

is based largely upon such source materials as the writings of Bernal Diaz del Castillo. It will probably have an especial appeal at the present time.

Other Books Received

American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. Twentieth Annual Report, 1915. (Albany, State Printer, 1915. Pp. 887.)

Gifford, Edward Winslow. Composition of California Shellmounds. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1916. Pp. 29.)

Hamilton, J. G. de R. Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860. (Durham, North Carolina Historical Commission, 1916. Pp. 212.)

Huguenot Society of South Carolina. Transactions, No. 21, 1915. (Charleston, The Society, 1916. Pp. 72.)

Joseph Bradford Peaks, 1839-1911. (Dover, Maine, Piscataquis County Historical Society, 1915. Pp. 41.)

Library of Congress. Classification: Class C, Auxiliary Sciences of History. (Washington, Government, 1915. Pp. 176.)

Michell M. The Co-operative Store in Canada. (Kingston, Canada, Queen's University, 1916. Pp. 22.)

North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association. Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Session. (Raleigh, State Printer, 1916. Pp. 120.)

Owen, Thomas M. Alabama Newspapers and Periodicals. (Montgomery, State Printer, 1915. Pp. 39.)

Owen, Thomas M. Alabama: State Name, Boundaries, Capitol, Executive Mansion, Seal, Flag, Holidays, Song and Flower. (Montgomery, State Printer, 1915. Pp. 11.)

Sifton, Sir Clifton. Some historical reflections relating to the War. (Ottawa, Women's Canadian Historical Society, 1915. Pp. 20.)

Swem, Earl G. Bibliography of Virginia, Part 1. (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1916. Pp. 767.)

WAGSTAFF, H. M. The Harris Letters. (Durham, North Caroline Historical Commission, 1916. Pp. 61.)

WASHINGTON EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION. Addresses and Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Annual Session. (Seattle, C. G. Bras, 1915. Pp. 248.)

WEAVER, CHARLES E. Tertiary Faunal Horizons of Western Washington. (Seattle, University of Washington, 1916. Pp. 67. $.75.)

WEBSTER, LAURA JOSEPHINE. The Operation of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina. (Northampton, Mass. Smith College, 1916. Pp. 67-118.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

An Old Shout for Preparedness

H. B. McElroy of Olympia is keenly interested in all matters relating to Northwestern history. He recently came upon an original circular issued at the Territorial Capital in the days of the Civil War. In sending it to the editor or this Quarterly he says: "The folks in this country in those days seemed to favor preparedness."

Most of the enrolling officers mentioned in the circular are now dead. In fact only one is known to the present writer as being among the living. That one is D. B. Ward for King county. He is at present a baliff under Judge R. B. Albertson in the Superior Court of King county.

The historic circular is here produced:

Proclamation

TO ARMS! TO ARMS!! TO ARMS!!!

"Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of Liberty!!!"

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,

Olympia, W. T., Jan. 15, 1862.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States in Washington Territory:

While our arms are being crowned with great success in the rebellious States, the late dispatches portend a War with England and France.

The storm is gathering! Let us then look well to it that it does not burst upon our heads while we are unprepared!! Let us not remain quietly at our firesides and permit the ruthless savage to be turned upon us. Well do we know it has ever been the policy of those nations to arouse the merciless Savage, whose inhumanity is too well known to require comment.

Let us then thoroughly organize the Militia, receive arms and equipments and be ready, at a moment's warning, to defend our homes like men.

He who prates of love of country and will not place himself in readiness, in time of danger, to defend it, is unworthy of that proud name we all bear, AMERICAN CITIZENS.

The following named gentlemen will act as enrolling officers to receive the names of those who are willing to aid in our defense, should occasion require.

They will please forward the roll of the companies, with the names of the officers chosen, to Gen. Frank Matthias at Seattle, W. T., or to myself at Olympia.

J. W. JOHNSON,
Assistant Adjutant General.

NAMES OF ENROLLING OFFICERS.

Thurston County—G. Hays.
Pierce County—W. H. Wood, Capt. Settle.
King County—D. B. Ward, H. A. Atkins.
Island County—S. D. Howe, Rev. G. F. Whitworth.
Jefferson County—Victor Smith, H. P. O'Bryant.
San Juan—E. D. Warbass.
Snohomish—Capt. Fowler.
Sawamish—F. C. Purdy, D. Shelton.
Lewis—Capt. Henry Miles.
Cowlitz—Dick Herrington, Alex. S. Abernethy.
Clarke—U. East Hicks, W. J. Langford.
Skamania—J. L. Ferguson.
Walla-walla—Ray R. Reese, A. B. Roberts.

Presidential Inaugurations

In March, 1916, two presidents were formally inaugurated as the chief executives of Washington's two highest institutions of education. On March 20-21 Henry Suzzallo was publicly greeted and felicitated on assuming full control of his high office in the University of Washington. On March 23-24 Ernest O. Holland was the center of similar ceremonies at the Washington State College. There were many prominent educators and distinguished citizens present as delegates and participants in the interesting programmes. Chief among these was Nicholas Murray Butler, publicist and President of the Columbia University. The appropriateness of his presence was manifest as both the new presidents hailed from the great institution of which he is the distinguished head.

Aside from the importance of the events themselves, lovers of history are interested since the two men thus honored have it within their power to materially advance and encourage the cause of historical research in this relatively new commonwealth.

A Correction

A line of type was accidently omitted from the article by M. Orion Monroe on "A Critical Discussion of the Site of Camp Wash-

ington." On page 20 of this Quarterly for January, 1916, the second sentence of the fifth paragraph should have read: "It has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the true site of Camp Washington was located at a point twelve and one-half miles southwest *from the ruins of the Spokane House and six miles south* of the winding ford on the Spokane river," etc. The italics indicate the line lost in the proof reading.

Pioneer and Historical Society of Thurston County

At the annual meeting of this organization at Olympia on March 2, 1916, General Hazard Stevens was re-elected president. Allen Weir, who had rendered years of faithful service as secretary, felt impelled by reason of failing strength to retire from that office. This decision was reluctantly accepted by the members who placed the duties upon F. W. Stocking, treasurer of the society. The other officers were all re-elected, including the venerable chaplain, P. D. Moore, hail and hearty in his ninety-first year.

The summer meeting of the society will be held in Tumwater Park, when the monument to the first American settlement on Puget Sound will be officially unveiled.

Living Pioneers of Washington

In this Quarterly for January, 1916, pages 87-89, there was published a list of biographical sketches of living pioneers of the Pacific Northwest and especially of Washington. This series of articles, written by the editor of this Quarterly, appeared on the editorial page of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. For the benefit of future historians, the list of the articles as they appeared in that newspaper since December 31, 1915, is here published with the date of first publication, the year being 1916, and with the present address of the pioneers:

January 1, Mr. and Mrs. Hiram H. Pease, Seattle.
January 3, Cyrus Hamlin Walker, Albany, Or.
January 4, Dr. A. W. Thornton, Ferndale, Wash.
January 5, Prof. W. D. Lyman, Walla Walla, Wash.
January 6, Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Chilberg, Seattle.
January 7, Charles E. Ivy, Davenport, Wash.
January 8, Marion Phillips, Seattle.
January 10, Ira Robinson, Ferndale, Wash.
January 11, Rev. Samuel Greene, Seattle.
January 12, Thomas Sharpe, Rosario Beach, Wash.
January 13, Oscar F. Canfield, Clarkston, Wash.

January 14, Mrs. Clara McCarty Wilt, Tacoma, Wash.
January 15, Isaac Wilson Buzby, Ellensburg, Wash.
January 17, Addison A. Lindsley, Portland, Or.
January 18, J. T. Williamson, Bothell, Wash.
January 19, Isaac Newton Bigelow, Seattle.
January 20, Ephraim Calvert, Seattle.
January 21, Dr. William F. Oliver, Arlington, Wash.
January 22, Mr. and Mrs. Gardner Kellogg, Seattle.
January 24, Robert McC. Becker, Seattle.
January 25, Mrs. Abigail Boutwell Karr, North Yakima, Wash.
January 26, Bishop Edward J. O'Dea, Seattle.
January 27, Jacob Hauptley, Shelton, Wash.
January 28, Jacob Harding, Bow, Skagit county, Wash.
January 29, Mrs. Amy Elizabeth Leonard, Seattle.
January 31, Mr. and Mrs. P. H. Roundtree, Klaber, Lewis county.
February 1, Beriah Brown, Seattle.
February 2, Judson W. Himes, Elma, Wash.
February 3, Frank R. Spinning, Olympia, Wash.
February 4, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Berzone, Seattle.
February 5, Morgan J. Carkeek, Seattle.
February 7, John N. Skidmore, South Bend, Wash.
February 8, W. P. Winans, Walla Walla, Wash.
February 9, Judson S. Siler, Vance, Wash.
February 10, Mrs. Nancy M. Bogart, Tacoma, Wash.
February 11, Mrs. Mary Isabell Scott, Startup, Wash.
February 11, Captain and Mrs. James W. Tarte, Bellingham, Wash.
February 14, Robert Frost, Olympia, Wash.
February 15, William H. Peterson, Tacoma, Wash.
February 16, Senator and Mrs. Levi Ankeny, Walla Walla, Wash.
February 17, Mrs. Melissa L. Noyes (died March 16, 1916).
February 18, John L. Jenkins, Bellingham, Wash.
February 19, Benjamin F. Manring, Colfax, Wash.
February 21, Jay Stillman, Puyallup, Wash.
February 22, J. P. de Mattos, Bellingham, Wash.
February 23, Grant Colfax Angle, Shelton, Wash.
February 24, Joseph Marion Taylor, Newcastle, Wash.
February 25, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar A. Sisson, Anacortes, Wash.
February 26, Mrs. Mary J. Byles, Bellingham, Wash.

February 28, John J. Donovan, Bellingham, Wash.
February 29, William M. Urquhart, Chehalis, Wash.
March 1, E. G. White, Enumclaw, Wash.
March 2, James Contois, Toledo, Wash.
March 3, Charles Layton, Toledo, Wash.
March 4, Michael Caraher, Seattle.
March 6, Henry Clay Temple, Morton, Wash.
March 7, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Hunsaker, Everett, Wash.
March 8, J. A. Ulsh, Glenoma, Wash.
March 9, Mr. and Mrs. Terrance O'Brien, Seattle.
March 10, Mrs. Mary Low Sinclair, Snohomish, Wash.
March 11, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Denny, Seattle.
March 13, Rev. John B. Boulet, Ferndale, Wash.
March 14, E. D. Phelps, Seattle.
March 15, James A. Smith, Port Townsend, Wash.
March 16, Mr. and Mrs. William M. Coffman, Seattle.
March 17, Mrs. Matilda Jane Sager Delaney, Eugene, Or.
March 18, Mr. and Mrs. C. G. Austin, Seattle.
March 20, John Miller Murphy, Olympia, Wash.
March 21, George R. Wilson, Bothell, Wash.
March 22, Mr. and Mrs. David Longmire, Wenas, Wash.
March 23, John L. Reid, Seattle.
March 24, Mr. and Mrs. Frank T. Balch, Sequim, Wash.
March 25, M. F. Jones, Seattle.
March 27, Washington Pierce Frazier, Olympia, Wash.
March 28, O. S. Jones, Seattle.
March 29, Gen. and Mrs. George W. Tibbetts, Issaquah, Wash.
March 30, Mrs. Clara White Dunbar, Olympia, Wash.
March 31, Mr. and Mrs. John E. Longfellow, Seattle.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

XVIII. The Civil War Decade

1. The San Juan Case.
   a. Americans settle on the islands.
   b. Opposition by the Hudson's Bay Company.
   c. Landing of American troops.
   d. War with Great Britain threatened.
   e. Arbitration.
2. Work for the Sanitary Commission.
   a. Washington Territory's record.
   b. Greatest in the Union per capita.
3. First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry.
   a. Mustered in by Col. Justus Steinberger.
   b. By order of the U. S. War Department, Oct. 18, 1861.
   c. Recruited in California and Washington.
   d. Served on the Pacific Coast until 1866.
4. Washington's War Governor.
   a. William Pickering.
   b. Appointed by Abraham Lincoln.
   c. Served from 1862 to 1866.
5. Union League of America.
   a. United the settlers politically.
   b. Supported the Union cause.
6. Turgid Eloquence of the Period.
   a. Notable speech by Albert Pingree.
7. Government Townsites.
   a. Act of Congress, March 3, 1863.
   b. Work of Collector Victor Smith.
   c. Port Angeles only townsite under that law.

8. The Mercer Girls Expeditions.
   a. Agitation for women by Editor Charles Prosch.
   b. Expeditions organized by Asa Mercer.
   c. Arrival of the two companies.
9. Confederate Cruiser Shenandoah.
   a. Operations in the Pacific Ocean.
   b. Thirty-eight vessels and cargoes captured.
   c. Cruelty of the commander.
   d. Fear in Pacific Coast cities.
10. Purchase of Alaska.
   a. Memorial of the Washington legislature, Jan. 13, 1866.
   b. Activity of Secretary William H. Seward.
   c. Treaty concluded on March 30, 1867.
   d. Russian Minister Edouard de Stoeckl.
   e. Price paid $7,200,000.
   f. Seward's visit to Alaska.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Government reports and newspapers would be most helpful in studies along this outline. Some of them are cited but a larger part of the references are to works more easily and more widely accessible.

BAGLEY, CLARENCE B.—"The Mercer Immigration:" Two Cargoes of Maidens for the Sound Country, The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Volume V, number 1, pages 1-24. This article published in March, 1904, is based upon documents and carries conviction as to its accuracy.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE.—Works of, Volume XXXI (History of Washington, Idaho and Montana). Chapters VI to VIII deal with this period of the Territory's history.

BRADLEY, CAPTAIN THOMAS H.—O'Toole's Mallet. This pamphlet contains a history of the "Second National City," meaning the Federal townsite of Port Angeles. The national capital city is the first national city. Captain W. D. O'Toole, as Register of the United States Land Office at Seattle, sold the old townsite at auction under orders of the Government in January 1894, which suggested the title of the pamphlet.

ENGLE, MRS. FLORA A. P.—The Story of the Mercer Expeditions, The Washington Historical Quarterly, Volume VI, pages 225 to 237. This article, published in October, 1915, is by one who was

herself a member of the second expedition. Her recollection was aided by a diary and other documents saved by her.

Hanford, Judge Cornelius H.—Boundary Disputes with Our Northern Neighbors, Settled and Unsettled, and San Juan Dispute. The first is the title of an address delivered before the Washington Pioneers, June 7, 1899. The second is the title of an address he gave before the Washington State Teachers' Association on December 28, 1899. Each address were afterwards issued in pamphlet form. They should be in the more important public libraries. It is clear that they would be helpful in the study of the subject here outlined.

Howe, M. A. DeWolfe.—The Life and Letters of George Bancroft. Chapter VIII in Volume II deals with the time when Mr. Bancroft was United States Minister at Berlin. Unfortunately, however, there is little light thrown on the diplomat's important work during the San Juan arbitration in which he took part before Emperor William I.

Meany, Edmond S.—History of the State of Washington. Chapter XVIII deals with the San Juan dispute and Chapter XXIV with the influences of gold and war. Pages 152 to 154 will be found helpful on the question of the purchase of Alaska.

Meany, Edmond S.—Governors of Washington. This little volume, published by the Printing Department of the University of Washington, contains a series of biographies and portraits. The essentials in the life of Washington's war governor may there be found.

Moore, John Bassett.—History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party. This important Government publication is in most of the larger libraries. Chapter VII, in Volume I, from pages 196 to 236, deals with the San Juan water boundary. It is one of the best sources on that subject.

Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies. (Wshington, Government Printing Office,. 1896.) Series I, Volume III, contains the full and official record of the Confederate Cruiser Shenandoah.

Pickett, LaSalle Corbell (Mrs. General George E.)—Pickett and His Men. A new edition of this work was published by the J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1913. Chapters II and III deal with San Juan. Pickett was in command of the American troops that landed there in 1859.

POST-INTELLIGENCER.—Seward Entitled to All Credit for the Purchase of Alaska. This Seattle newspaper published a long, fully illustrated, article under that title on Sunday, December 30, 1906.

SEWARD, FREDERICK W.—Seward at Washington. This work, edited by the son of the distinguished Secretary of State, contains valuable information about the purchase of Alaska.

STEVENS, GENERAL HAZARD.—The life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens. The San Juan case is here dealt with and citation is especially made to the threatened war with Great Britain, pages 290-295 of Volume II.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

THE SINCLAIR PARTY—AN EMIGRATION OVERLAND ALONG THE OLD HUDSON BAY COMPANY ROUTE FROM MANITOBA TO THE SPOKANE COUNTRY IN 1854[1]

Agreeably to your wishes to hear about our trip from Manitoba, I will try and give you as good an account as I can.

In the first place we started on the 5th day of May, 1854, from where Winnipeg now stands. Mr. James Sinclair[2] was the leader of the party and we were all intending to go to California, as we were told that mines were still good and plenty of gold was to be had, if we would dig for it, but not one of the party ever got there except a young man by the name of Wm. Gibson, and he did not remain there but came back to Oregon and settled there.

We were a long time on that trip. We had no wagons, but just two-wheeled carts, and as we did not have many horses to work and draw the carts, we employed oxen; one ox to each cart, and we could not load them very heavily as they were not built to stand hard usage on stony ground.

I do not suppose that we had any more than two thousand pounds as the heaviest load, and we kept on the Hudson's Bay Company's cart road from one trading post to another[3]—quite a round about way—and we had to do so to avoid hostile Indians. The first trading post reached was Fort Ellis on a stream called Beaver River. We

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1This article was collated and prepared by Mr. William S. Lewis, from a series of letters written to him by Mr. John V. Campbell of Lilloett, British Columbia.

2James Sinclair was a son of William Sinclair, a chief factor for the H. B. Co. stationed at Edmonton for many years, and who married a daughter of McKay, the Astor party lost with the Tonquin. James Sinclair first came west of the Rocky Mountains in 1841 in charge of the company of settlers sent out to occupy the Cowlitz farms for the H. B. Co. Two of his daughters are yet living, one in Portland, and the other in Rosebury. (T. C. Elliott.)

3The route of the Sinclair party was substantially the same as that traveled by Governor Simpson of the H. B. Co. in 1841. See Vol. 1, Narrative of a Journey Around the World, Sir George Simpson.

traveled very slowly, perhaps twenty miles a day at most and more frequently less.

Our next stop was on a stream called Qupelle River, the post was named Qu Pelle; the banks on either side of the stream were very steep and stony; big round boulders. I remember that very well, for I hurt my back very bad; there was no way to fasten a brake on those carts, so we just had to tie a rope around the oxen's horns and hold him back to keep him from running down the hill. I recollect it had been raining, and the boulders were wet and slippery. I was walking along the side of a young steer I had on the cart, and was holding him back, when I slipped and fell and away went the steer down the rest of the way and the cart ran across my back and I had to crawl out of the road for there was another cart coming down and it just grazed my toes.

After everybody else had got to camp, some parties came back and carried me down. After this I was obliged to lie in a cart for a week or ten days before I could do anything. There was a good cart road all the way to the next trading post, Fort Carlton, on the bank of the South Branch of the Sascatchewan River. The fort was stockaded; all around there we saw half-breed buffalo herding with domestic cattle. I think we were about two weeks reaching Fort Carlton from the previous post.

From here we had to cross the river, and make rafts with the carts and to row them and tow as well with boats which were loaned us by the trader at the post. It took us about three days to get another start for the next stream, another branch of the Sascatchewan River that was a long stretch away. We were about three weeks or longer in making that stream, and there we had to cross back to the north bank of the river and to keep out of the way of hostile Indians. We were also obliged to stand guard nights from there on. This last stream was a hard stream to cross, the water was very high with a stiff current. We came very near losing our rafts of carts. Our canoes were very light and we could not tow the rafts across fast enough and were carried a long ways down the river. We happened to land on a long point on the river, and by snubbing the rafts to some trees on the bank, we managed to save the carts, but it was a close shave.

Our canoes were made by a frame of willows tied with ropes and oil cloth stretched over the frames. These could carry four or five persons. It took us all of a week to get a start from there. We had

a great deal of trouble to get our carts out from that high point. We had to make two rafts of our carts as we had quite a lot of them.

After getting started again we kept on the north side of the river all the way to the next trading post, called Fort Pitt. Here we were in the heart of the buffalo country. The company kept a great many train dogs; there must have been three hundred fifty or four hundred dogs there at that time; they had plenty to feed them, being in the big game country.

There was one of our party that was bringing three head of sheep along with his cattle, the dogs cleaned them out the first night there, so that Sutherland's flock was no more. At this place we were obliged to stop very near three weeks, as there was a child born to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Brown, a son who is now living in the Colville Valley. I saw him in the spring of '55 as I had gone up to Colville to visit Mr. Thomas Brown before starting down to the Walla Walla country with Wm. Moar.

After leaving Fort Pitt we still kept on the same side of the river until we came to Fort Edmonton, this was the middle of July. Here one of our party remained, Thomas Hudson, and hired to the Hudson's Bay Company. After leaving Edmonton we traveled upon the north bank of Red River, and kept on for several days, when we forded the stream, which happened to be quite shallow, with a fine gravelly bottom. From here we could see the first sight of the Rocky Mountains. I had forgotten to say that we came on to a band of the Cree Indians; this party of the Crees traveled along with us until we came to Fort Edmonton. We hired the chief of this band of Crees, whose name was Mackipictoon, or broken arm, to act as guide. These Cree Indians were very friendly to our party. They used to accompany some of our party when they went out hunting the buffalo, and kept all the party supplied with fresh meat.

The most of our party were half-breeds, and we could all speak their language fluently. There must have been very near one hundred of these Crees, and they acted as an escort to our party, stood guard at night, and kept with us until we came to a camp of Stony Indians on the little Bow River. We traveled along this stream then until it came out on the open prairie, out of the mountains onto a low bottom and bench land up back of our camp, very open.

I came very near forgetting to tell about the buffalo being very plentiful in the country between Forts Pitt and Edmonton. We frequently went out hunting them and charged them on our fastest horses. Sometimes our horses were too fast and we would outrun the buffalo.

It was very dangerous to get ahead of them, as one could not see the many badger holes on account of the clouds of dust. Your horse was apt to step in one of those holes and fall down and get trampled on by the band of buffalo. One had to take big chances, but as it happened we were very fortunate and nobody ever got thrown down.

The last day that we saw the buffalo was on a Sunday. We were traveling along as usual and we could see a black mass moving towards us. These were the buffalo traveling towards the north and we had to stop and let them by. When they came up to us they separated, some going ahead of our carts and the others behind. We had to stop and let them by, and surround our loose cattle and our horses, as they wanted to follow the band of buffalo. We were obliged to stop and remain at that place over two hours to let them get by us. Just as far as the eye could see, it was nothing but a black mass of them and they were going on a small lope. One cannot think how they came to be gathered as it were into one band and started traveling north. The young men of our party were very eager to take a shot at them, but the old people would not allow that, as it would have been very dangerous to have shot them. They would have stampeded our whole outfit and killed all the women and children.

There was something that I missed telling of; when we were encamped at the Little Bow River we had three head of horses stolen by a hostile band of Blood Indians; they also shot some arrows into some of our cattle. The cattle came running to camp with the arrows still sticking in them; that was how we happened to find out about their being around. Some of our party started right out on some horses that were kept staked out in case something like this happened, but the renegades got away with the three horses. I suppose they could not catch any of the others, so that they only got those three.

At this camp on the little Bow River our party of Crees left us, but we kept the chief to act as guide through the mountains. We also hired two of the Stony Indians as guides over the mountains, as the route had not been traveled over and the trail was full of fallen timber. At this camp we remained another two weeks, as another youngster was born there to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Fleet, but the little one did not live but a few days. We also had to go to work to break up our carts and use the timbers to make pack saddles to pack our baggage on the horses and oxen. As we did not have horses enough to carry all the traps. We were fortunate in getting nails and other necessities at Fort Edmonton to put the saddles together with. We

had to make everything very strong as some of our young steers were very frisky. It was quite a sight to see the young steers with the first saddles on their backs. In using carts, we had collars and breeching and we used these to fasten the packs on to the steers. They were tied fore and aft and around the middle and would still sometimes break them off. It was a grand sight to see their capers and there was not but one or two in the whole outfit that knew anything about packing. We had to stay in camp longer so as to get the young stock broke in to their job, but we had the time of our lives when we started traveling through the timber. In the narrow trail a steer would bump his pack onto a tree and then he would do some bucking to get that pack off; then we would have a time catching him to put the pack onto him again. We had to go very slow to get the stock used to their work.

Some of the women had to ride on the back of the old oxen, as there were not horses enough for them, but these had to be led, as they did not guide very well with just the halter lines. Some days we did not make more than seven or eight miles, as some of the stock were getting footsore. We were the whole of September in getting through the mountains to where we came out on Canal Flats, between the Kootenay River and the head of the South Fork of the Columbia Lakes. About half of our route over across the mountains, one of my horses, the fastest of our buffalo horses, got tired out and we left him for a day, but as one of our guides threatened to go back and take the horse with him, I was requested to go back and shoot the horse, or we would lose our best guide. I had to go back and shoot the horse, but that was something that was hard to do, to kill my old friend. At length our party came out onto the Canal Flats.

The Canal Flats are bounded by the lake on the north side, on the south side by the Kootenay River, on the east by the Rocky Mountains, and on the west by the Selkirk Mountains. It is perhaps two miles across the flats from the base of the Rockies to the base of the Selkirks; from the lake to the Kootenay River the distance is three and a half to four miles. The flats have very open timber on them, and plenty of fine bunch grass. We stayed there two days and then our guides, the Cree chief and the two Stony Indians, left us to go back across the Rocky Mountains to their own country on the east side. There were some Kootenay Indians at Canal Flats and we hired a guide from these to continue on our route from there.

Turning south, we forded the Kootenay River and followed the

base of the Rockies all the way down to Elk River.[4] Fording that stream we kept on south to the Tobacco Plains, a rolling country. There we crossed over to the American side of the international boundary line, which had not been surveyed at that time. (The boundary line was not surveyed until 1858.) We laid over there for another three days, and found a Hudson's Bay trader for the Kootenais by the name of John Linklater, a Scotchman, who had come up on his yearly trip from Fort Colville in the Colville Valley along the Columbia River.

Mr. Linklater's trading post was on the west side of the Kootenay River, and we were traveling down the east side. Mr. Linklater was the first white person we saw after leaving Fort Edmonton on the Sascatchewan River.

He was very happy to see some white people there. At that time he was all alone in that country; there was not another white person nearer than three or four hundred miles to his station. He came across to our camp from the other side of the river by fording it. We had not all got done unpacking our animals when he came over. He was so glad to hear that there were some white people on the other side of the river that he did not take time to saddle his horse, but jumped on it and rode over bareback to see us. While he was in our camp and all were eager to see him there was very near an accident. Mr. Sinclair's mount took fright at something and started to run around among the other animals; the saddle got loose and under his body. There was a Colt's revolver in the holster, tied on the saddle, that somehow started to shoot, and it was fortunate that none was hit. All the party had not reached camp. We traveled very slowly as our animals were very tender footed and it took some of the party a long time to get into camp. There were a lot of Kootenay Indians standing around also and wondering what kind of a gun that was that could shoot so often, they having never seen one of these six shooters before that time. It was a sight to see them standing around open mouthed when they saw the pistol and Mr. Linkhalter showed them how it was handled.

At that time the only kind of guns that they used or ever saw were those flint lock guns.

After starting away from the Tobacco Plains we followed the Kootenay River on the east side; the river was running more towards

[4]The route of the Sinclair party down the Kootenai River and to the Spokane Country followed the general course of the canoe route traveled by David Thompson on his trips to the Columbia River country, 1809. This became the regular route between the fur trading posts at Spokane and Fort Colville and those on the Kootenai.

the west. We traveled south for a week until we came to the big bend of the Kootenay River, where it turned about due west towards Flat Bow Lake. When we struck the bend of the Kootenay, we crossed over the Kootenay again and traveled down on the west side to the Flat Bow country, about four days more. Then we crossed the Kootenay again and left it to go south to the Pend O'Reille Lake. We followed the north bank of the lake west to the Sandpoint, and down along the Pend O'Reille River about forty miles. There we crossed the river in canoes, swimming our horses and stock. We were fortunate in finding some Indians here to help us over.

We were obliged to leave camp on the south bank of the Pend O'Reille in a hurry, as there was not much feed there for our stock. From this camp we traveled south towards the Spokane country, which we made in four days.

Our cattle and horses were getting very tired and footsore by this time, and had to crawl along very slowly. It took us all of October and very near all of November to make out to the Spokane country. All of our party were getting tired also of the trip and were happy to find some white people there, Messrs Owens and Gibson, stockmen. After visiting a few days most all of the party continued on down towards Walla Walla. One family, Mr. Thomas Brown,[5] and his brother, Henry Brown, went up to Colville Valley and took what cattle and horses they wished with them to that country. Mr. John Moar and his family, with myself, remained at the Spokane. The rest of the party kept on the way down to Walla Walla. Mr. Wm. Moar and I stayed to winter the cattle in that country. There was one wagon brought by one of the party and a couple of truck wagons made. The wheels were made by sawing them off of a large pine tree, the wheels were about 7 or 8 inches thick. The axels were of fir and holes were bored and gouged out in the wheels. There was no iron about them at all except the few nails used in making the bed for the wagon. Just two horses were used to draw them and all the dunnage was piled on the wagons and a start made.

I was told that they arrived at Walula the day before Christmas (1854). Mr. Sinclair and his family remained there, so did Mr. Whitford and family; the rest of the party kept on down to Oregon and scattered around the country. There was a gentleman by the

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[5]Thomas Brown became one of the first white settlers in Stevens County. By an abortive act of the Territorial Legislature, passed January 18th, 1859, he was named as the first Sheriff of the newly created Spokane County, then embracing all the country north of the Snake River and east of the Columbia and Okanogan.

name of Dominqu Pambrumm who had charge of the trading post at Walula at the time, but he resigned and Mr. James Sinclair was employed in his stead.

We did not go towards Colville at all, as that was a long way down on the Columbia and a long way west of our route; we were now about one hundred miles or more from Fort Colville, south. Mr. Angus McDonald was the trader at Fort Colville at that time.

We wintered about eight or nine miles up the Coeur d'Alene River from Antone Le Plant's place. There were also wintering there the same winter of 1854-1855 two Americans that were in the stock business, one was named Frank Owens[6] and the other was called Gibson, but I cannot recall his Christian name; this man had a white woman with him. They also had three other white men with them as hired help, one Arnold King, another James Hole, and the other James Barrit, and an Indian from Oregon named Louis. That winter Owens and Gibson must have had 400 to 500 head of cattle, with some 500 head of horses as well.

There was just one other party who lived on the Spokane with Antone Le Plant, a French Canadian by the name of Camile. I cannot recall his surname. He was married to a sister of Antone Le Plant's wife. There were no other whites or half-breeds resident in that country at that time that I know of.

Antone Le Plant told me of a missionary having been in that country previous to our arrival there, who was stationed at a place called Walker's prairie. I am not certain now, but I think that there were two of the missionaries, Walker and Eells. Walker's prairie is north of the present city of Spokane.

LePlant could not tell me what denomination those missionaries were, they were not Catholics, but I think I heard elsewhere in Oregon that they were Methodists.

I was not ever near the mouth of the Spokane River but once, and I cannot say that I saw any trace of any old buildings having been built there. Antone LePlant once told me that there was an old Hudson Bay trading post at one time near there, but that was after I had been there. Had I known before I went, I might have looked for some traces of the old post, and as near as I can recall the time, I did not suppose that there ever had been a trading post there, for the place was covered with an undergrowth of small bushes, quite

[6]Francis B. Owen. He had been driven out of the St. Maries Valley in Montana by the Blackfeet Indians, and was now engaged in cattle raising and trading with the Indians in the Spokane Valley, where he was met by Gov. Stevens' party the previous year (1853), Vol. 1, Pac. Ry. Reports, p. 257.

thick, and did not appear to me as if there ever had been anything like a house there.

But then again I heard that there had been an old trading post some distance up the Little Spokane, on a prairie north of Antone LePlant, where there was another oldtimer by the name of Baptiste Pion; there again I did not see any signs of any old buildings having been built there; this I was told by one Thomas Stanger, who used to live about northwest of where Chewelah now is situated.

Mr. Moar and I went to work cutting logs to build our house to winter in. Mr. Owens and Mr. Gibson let us have their hired men and some work cattle to draw the logs and also helped us to roll the logs up. We were in the house inside of two weeks. We were obliged to work pretty steady to get sheltered, as the weather was getting cold in the last of November. After getting our winter quarters all snug we had to look around for provisions, so we employed two Spokane Indians to accompany Mr. Antone LePlant to Fort Colville, as he was going up there to get some supplies himself, we could not get anything nearer than that place in the line of flour, sugar, tea and other articles we needed.

Mr. LePlant bought what we ordered by him and his own, and brought our two Indians back with him.

We were about 8 miles up along the Coeur d'Alene (Spokane) River, where we wintered. There was quite a camp of the Coeur d'Alene Indians near to us that wintered there, also the Spokane Indians were down about 10 miles, about 3 miles below Anton LePlant's place at the upper falls (Post Falls) of the same river.[7] About all the tribe were wintering there. I believe there were two chiefs there in that camp; Spokane Gary and Big Star. Spokane Gary I was told was taken to Manitoba by the H. B. Company when a young man and kept at school there for several years and was brought back by the H. B. Company again. I saw him a number of times and talked with him; he spoke very good English. The chief at the Coeur d'Alene camp was called Saltese. The rest of that tribe were at the Coeur d'Alene Mission, some 25 or 30 miles further up the country. The Indians were all very quiet and peaceful, we had no trouble with any of them.

The main trails were those used by the H. B. Company in going from one trading post to another; one to the Walla Walla and Col-

[7]This camping ground, near Saltese Lake, was the scene of the slaughter of 800 or 900 Indian horses by Col. Wright in Sept., 1853, and was afterwards known as "Horse Slaughter Camp."

ville posts; another to the posts among the Pend O'Reilles and Flathead Indians in Montana; also to the Kootneai tribe in B. C.

On my first trip up to the Colville Valley from the Spokane Country I started from our winter camp about 8 miles above the little falls (Post Falls) and traveled over the Hudson Bay Company's trail. It took me about three days to reach the first settlers in the valley. These were some of the Finlays; there were three brothers, close neighbors, Patrick, Koostah and Nicholas Finlay. All of them had big families, and some of their descendants with their families were settled in their near neighborhood with the exception of James Finlay and his family who were settled further on up the valley. I think that there were thirteen in that family. The original Finlay, Jacques Finlay, was in charge of the old Spokane post in the early days; I never saw him, as he died before I came to that country. What other settlers there were in the Colville Valley, besides the Finlays, were some Scotchmen, Orkneymen and a few French Canadians that had been employes of the Hudson Bay Company. These were married to some of the descendants of Jacques Finlay and some to the native women of the country.

I think that there were just two settlers in the entire valley that had not been employees of the Hudson Bay Company; one Francois Morrigeaux who was a trapper from the East side of the Rocky Mountains and one Canadian by the name of La Bien. I do not think that there were more than twenty-five or thirty settlers in the entire Colville Valley when I first came to that country in the spring of 1855. When I arrived at the Fort Colville there was quite a stir as the trader, Mr. Angus McDonald, was starting a pack train of 50 or 60 horses down to Fort Hope on the Fraser River for an outfit of goods to supply the Company's store at Colville. The goods brought were mostly dry goods and some groceries and some ammunition,—that is gunpowder and lead for the kind of guns that they used at that time. These guns were mostly old flint lock, muzzle loaders. There was never any flour brought to Colville as the Company had a flour mill at what is called Meyers Falls now. The settlers used to take their wheat to the mill in carts that were made in the valley; there were no wagons in that country at that time. The wheat was ground at the mill for the farmers, but I do not know how much the toll was.

There was quite a trade in furs at that trading post. I did not see much money in the country. A farmer coming to the Fort for his groceries generally paid for them in wheat or flour or other produce. There was not any fruit raised in the country at that time.

On this first trip to Colville I did not make a long stay, but went back down to the Spokane Valley and started with Mr. Moar for the Walla Walla country.

After leaving our winter quarters in the spring of 1855, Mr. Moar with his family and I, with all of our stock traveled Southwest until we struck the old Hudson Bay route, and followed that down to the Snake River. There we crossed the river in canoes, and swam the stock over. We were fortunate in finding Indians there who ferried us over. These were the Palouse Indians. We were fortunate in never having had any trouble with the Indians at any places on the whole route.

After leaving the Snake River, we had to look out for the levelest country to travel in. The country was very hilly and steep and it was hard for our poor stock to pull up those hills with the truck carts. It took us about four days to make the Walla Walla valley. This was a fine place for our poor cattle to have reached it at the end of their journey.

I append a list giving the names of the members of the party; there were none of them old people with the exception of one that was over 60 years of age; the rest of the men were from 20 to 50; most of them in their prime. The women were also mostly young and healthy dames and lasses.

	Total
James Sinclair, age 50, with wife and 7 children	9
John Moar, aged 50, with wife and 4 children	6
Roderich Sutherland, age 40, with wife and 1 child	3
William Rowland, age 50, with wife and daughter	3
James Gibson, age about 65	1
William Gibson, age about 25	1
Miles Burston, age about 55, and wife	2
John Lyons, age about 50 wife and 2 children	4
Philip Bird, age about 50, with wife and 3 children	5
Arthur Bird, age about 40 years	1
Thomas Bird, age about 50 years	1
Charles Bird, age about 20 years	1
George Taylor, age about 35 or 40 years	1
Samuel Norn, age about 50 years	1
Thomas Brown, age about 50 years, with wife, three daughters and infant son born en route	6
Harry Brown, age about 24	1
John V. Campbell, age 22 years	1

Robert Flint, age about 35 years, and wife	2
James Whiteford, age about 55 years, with wife and 2 girls	4
Peter Whiteford, age about 30, with wife and 1 child	3
Frank Whitford, age about 25	1
Andrew Whitford, age about 18	1
Donald Whitford, age about 15	1
John Childe, age about 15	1
Thomas Hudson, age about 55 years	1
Old Daniel, age about 60 years	1
Margaret Campbell, a single woman, age about 25	1
Margaret Rowland, a maiden lady, age about 40	1
Total	65

After our arrival in the Walla Walla country, I remained with Mr. Sinclair working at the Hudson's Bay Company's post and looking after the cattle. Mr. Moar stayed some time in the valley before going down to Oregon. He did not go further down than the Dalles, Oregon. I stayed on tending the stock along with another of our party that came with us from Manitoba, George Taylor.

We stayed there until the Indians commenced to get troublesome in 1856 and 1857, when everybody had to leave for the lower country.

The white people all had to go to Oregon. There was one day that Taylor and I were driving a lot of cattle into the corral to brand them. We met a party of young bloods who got to shooting some of our cattle. We thought it was about time to quit, so we went and reported to Mr. Sinclair, who told us we had better leave the stock go. Taylor left in a few days for the Nez Perce Country, as those Indians were still friendly.

A few days later I gathered up what horses Mr. Sinclair had and what I owned and started for the Colville Valley with them—in all about twenty head. On my way up the country on the Nez Perce trail I came across some Indians; one of these sold me a mare that was not his own. This was at a creek called Tuccunon. Continuing on I came to the Red Wolf[8] crossing on the Snake River. Here I came on another Indian who claimed the horse I had bought at the last camp on the Tuccunon. There was a pretty hostile camp of Palouses here. They claimed that I had stolen the animal, but it so happened that I had some half breeds with me that were also on their way to Colville, and who told the chief of this camp that I

[8]So called from the Nez Perce Chief, Red Wolf, whose camping ground was in the vicinity.

was a brother-in-law to Mr. Sinclair, the trader at Walla Walla. The chief then let me keep the horse and gave me a guide to take me as far as Spokane, so I was safe once more.

There had been a fight before this in the Yakima country and the Indian Agent, Bolon,[9] had been killed. There was one Indian in this camp who had a brother killed at that fight, and there was a pretty hostile lot of Indians in this camp of Palouses.

Arriving at the Colville Valley, I remained there until the fall of 1858, when I was hired by Mr. Angus McDonald to go up to the Tobacco Plains to be assistant trader to Mr. John Linklater. The following March (1859) I went back to Colville, thence down to Walla Walla, and from there to Oregon. A nephew of Mr. Sinclair, one William Sinclair, took the horses that I brought up and sold them after Mr. James Sinclair was killed at the Cascades at the time of the war.[10]

The Hudson Bay Company had quite a number of employees at Fort Colville; there were two clerks, William Sinclair, previously mentioned, and one Henry Shuttleworth, with Mr. Angus McDonald, the Chief Trader. There must have been about twenty men employed about the post in addition to the two clerks.

I was with the Kootenais, just north across the International Boundary line. We had some twenty-five or thirty pack animals loaded with blankets and some dry goods and a few guns and ammunition. There had to be some flints taken up for the guns, as they were all flint locks. There were no percussion locks in the country in those days. When a man used up his flint on his gun when out hunting, he could take a piece of white quartz and break it to fit his gun and go on shooting, provided his hammer and steel were so he could raise fire enough to ignite the powder. Those flint lock guns cost the Indians ten full grown beaver skins taken in their prime; that would be those caught in the late fall or winter and early spring. A skin was rated at about two and a half dollars, so that the guns cost the Indians about twenty-five or thirty dollars. Everything went by skins. A full grown beaver was a skin, or a large dark marten or a large fisher was two skins. Blankets that had three points or bars were three skins. Thirty charges of powder, thirty bullets and a

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9A. J. Bolon, special agent for the Yakimas. He left the Dalles and went to the Yakima camp to investigate the Indian murders of the summer of 1855, and returning was shot by the Indians from behind, dragged from his horse, scalped and his body partly burned. See Bancroft's History of Washington, Idaho and Montana, p. 109, p. 119.

10In the attack on the Dalles by the Yakima or Klickitat Indians on March 26th, 1858, the settlers took refuge in Bradford's store; a chance shot through the open door killed James Sinclair, who was then at the Dalles. See Bancroft's History of Washington, Idaho and Montana, p. 146.

flint were one skin. All the lead came in the shape of bullets; it took 25 to make a pound. Three pounds of sugar was counted a skin.

After leaving Oregon, I again went to Colville and hired to the Hudson Bay Company and remained there for several years.

I was born at Fort Dumorgan, in the Peace River Country. My father was a Scotchman from Perth, Scotland; my mother a half breed, half French and half Indian, her maiden name was Elizabeth McGilvrary of Peace River, Canada. I was raised on the Peace River about two miles below Upper Fort Garry of the Hudson Bay company, Manitoba, Canada, and lived there until I started for the West in 1854.

In 1856 when I went to Colville, a family by the name of Whiteford accompanied me; when I passed by the old Whitman station everything was in ashes, a party of hostiles having looted and burned the place. During the summer of 1857 I worked for some of the settlers in the Colville Valley. When I went back to the Dalles, in 1857, I carried down some mail for Mr. John Owens, who was then Indian Agent for the Flatheads Agency in Montana, and who had come to Colville and who could not get down to Oregon, as the Indians were still hostile in the Walla Walla valley. He hired a half breed by the name of George Martins, who accompanied me down to the Dalles.

In 1859 when I left Colville I continued down to Oregon City and visited my sister there, Mrs. James Sinclair. In the fall of 1859 when I returned to Colville I went to work on the Boundary line survey in the Kootenay Country; we worked summers and wintered at Colville. In the spring of 1860 I bought a small place and went to farming. I took a half breed woman for a wife named Louisa Burland. I remained on this farm for two years, when I was again hired by the Hudson Bay Company to go among the Kootenai Indians in the Tobacco Plains. I had two boys by my wife, but they are both dead.

I accompanied Major Logenbeet's (?) command from Walla Walla when the U. S. Government started to build the Fort at Colville. I think that there were two companies of soldiers that went up there at that time. The Indians did not like to see them coming into the Colville Valley, but they cooled down when the Major told them that he meant to stay and that he meant to see that they kept straight. At that time the town was started building on the opposite side of the creek from where the garrison were building the fort; I think that the little town was named Pinckney City. There were

three stores and one hotel, there was also a brewery owned by two partners, one named Shaw and the other named Hostitor, and several saloons. There was a saw mill further up the valley built and owned by one Douglas. The mill had been built the year previous to the erection of the post and the town, and lumber for both were procured there. Mr. Douglas about that time built a flour mill near his saw mill and this mill was the second grist mill in the country; the Hudson Bay Company had built the first mill at what is now called Meyer's Falls, South of their trading post, about 5 or 6 miles.

I did not attend the Catholic Church myself, but the English or Episcopal Church; but there was not any other church but the Catholic Church in that country at that time.

I never saw but one of the Herons, George Heron, a descendant of one of the old pioneer fur traders. I did not ever remain long in one place. I was pretty much like a rolling stone, and was very fond of hunting and fishing and trapping.

It is a hard matter to recall all the happenings and I have no doubt I will recall some other things after this reaches you. My sight is getting very dim now and I cannot keep to the lines. Getting old, you know. I am 88 years of age now and do not use glasses.

JOHN V. CAMPBELL.

ALASKA UNDER THE RUSSIANS—BARANOF THE BUILDER

When Baranof, the Builder of Russian America, laid down the management of the Russian American Company in 1818 the dominion of the Czar in North America was at its greatest breadth. Its outposts were from St. Michael to Ross in California; from Sitka to Attu Island. For nearly 30 years he had been extending the limits of the posessessions of his Imperial Master; enduring shipwrecks; fighting the wild tribes and reducing them to subjection; planting new posts; suppressing the sedition of the priests and the insubordination of his naval officers; his had been a busy life.

The popular picture of Baranof has been that of an iron handed tyrant; a drinking despot who plied his subordinates with rum and then punished their familiarities with the knout. The real man as shown in his letters and the writings of those who knew him best is a very different character.

We find him at Unalaska, shipwrecked at the beginning of the winter of 1791 and on an island; where the government expeditions

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*In the preparation of this article I have drawn chiefly from the following sources:

Khlebnikof, K., in **Zhizneopisanie Aleksandra Andreevicha Baranova,** [Biography of Alexander Andreevich Baranof.] St. Petersburg, 1835. There is a copy in the Governor's office at Sitka, and one in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. Klebnikof was the chief of the countinghouse at Sitka under the Chief Managers following Baranof, remaining until about 1832. On the "Blarney Stone" at Sitka, are his initials, "K. KH. 1832."

Tikhmenef, P., **Istoricheskoe Obozrenie Obrazovanie Rossiisko Amerikanskoe Kompanii** [Historical Review of the Organization of the Russian American Company.] St. Petersburg, 2vols. Vol. I, 1861; vol. II, 1863. In Governor's office and in Bancroft Library.

Materiali dlya Isotrii Russkikh Zaselenii po beregam vostochnavo okeana. [Materials for the History of the Russian Settlements on the Shores of the Eastern Ocean.] St. Petersburg, 1861. In 4 parts. The 1st part is by V. M. Golovnin; the 2d part by Captain-Lieutenant Golovin; the 3d part by K. Khlebnikof; the 4th part consists of extracts from the writings of Golovnin, Khlebnikof, Lutke, Lazaref and others. In Governor's office and in Bancroft Library. V. M. Golovnin was an officer of the Russian navy who came to Sitka in the sloop Diana, the first Russian ship of war to visit the colonies, in 1810. He returned in 1817 in the sloop Kamchatka. A copy of the voyage of 1815-'19 is in library of the University of Washington at Seattle. Captain Golovin, a naval officer, was sent in 1861 to make a report on the condition of the colonies. More complete description of the **Materiali** will be found in Bancroft, **History of Alaska,** pp. 515-16.

Davidof, Gavrila I., **Dvuknoe putashestvie v' Ameriku Morskik Ofitzerof Khvostova i Davidova, pisannoe sim poslyednim** [Two Voyages in America by Naval Officers Khvostof and Davidof, written by the latter.] St. Petersburg, 1810. In two parts. In Bancroft Library.

Markof, A., **Russkie na Vostochnom Okean Puteshestvie Al. Markova** [Russians on the Eastern Ocean Voyage of Al. Markof.] St. Petersburg, 1856. In Bancroft Library.

Veniaminof [Bishop John.] **Zapiski ob Ostrovakh Oonalaskinskago Otdiela** [Letters Concerning the Islands of the Unalaska District.] St. Petersburg, 1840, 2 vols. In Bancroft Library. The same is found in another edition in the library of the University of Washington, at Seattle.

preceding him, with all the stores of their ship at command, suffered and died with the scurvy; living with his crew on the animals they killed, boiling salt from the sea for use, he passed the winter without the loss of a life. Building boats, from the skins of the sea lions they killed, he made his way to Three Saints on Kodiak, 500 miles by sea, to take up the management of the colony placed there by Shelikof.[1] Hardly had he received the goods of the post until he passed on in a skin bidar to the Prince William Sound, the Chugach Gulf of the Russians, thence to the Cook Inlet, called by them the Kenai Gulf, to see his outposts, then back to Kodiak Island[2]; there he at once arranged to transfer his main office to St. Paul's harbor.[3]

He was short of every kind of supplies, his ship was wrecked and a total loss; he had to leave men to salve the wreckage; his provisions were lost, his trading goods were expended. He chose a place on Voskressenski Harbor, near the present town of Seward, to build a ship to replace the one lost at Unalaska. The iron and anchors, the cordage and sails must be brought across Siberia,[4] twice as far as from New York to Seattle, then shipped 3,000 miles across the Pacific Ocean.

The sea otter grounds of the Aleutian Islands had been swept clean of the fur that was the life of his business. The bays of Kamishak and Kenai and the Chugach Gulf were failing fast under the competition, of the Lebedef-Lastochkin Company who fought with Baranof's men and robbed them, and of the trade of the English who had for five or more years been frequenting those waters. He sent Purtof down the coast to the eastward to find new hunting

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1K. Khlebnikof, **Zhizneopisanie Alizandrova A. Baranova [Life of Alexander A. Baranof]**, St. Petersburg, 1853, p. 8. Alexander Andrevich Baranof was born at Kargopol, Russia ,in either 1746 or 1747. Bancroft, **History of Alaska**, p. 315, gives the year as 1747; Khlebnikof does not specify a date in his life of Baranof, but "72 lyetnii staretz" is said of him in 1818, indicating that he was 72 years old at that time. The encyclopedias give 1746 as the date of his birth.

2The first census taken of Alaska was by Baranof in the winter of 1795-96, which showed a native population of 6,206 on Kodiak Island.—**Zhizneopisanie**, p. 33.

3Baranof to Shelikof, in Tikhmenef, Istoricheskoe Obozranie Rossiisko Amerikanskoe Kompanii [Historical Review of the Origin of the Russian American Company.] St. Petersburg, 1861-63, II, App., 42. "I myself departed in a bidar on the 7th of May, at Chiniak I made arrangements for the building of a harbor and gave orders that when the fort erected upon the harbor was completed it should be named Pavlovsky, in honor of the Prince Imperial."—Ibid, p. 35.

4Poortof, or Purtof, was sent during 1793 to search for new sea otter grounds to the eastward. With three Russians and 170 bidarkas of Aleuts he went to Yakutat. Baranof says: "I am very much obliged to Purtof, that he discovered this new hunting ground near Cape St. Elias."—Baranof to Shelikof, July 24, 1793, in Tikhmenef, 11, App., 40.

grounds[5] and set himself to the task of assembling the material for a ship.

A builder, the Englishman Shields, came on a ship from Okhotsk, with a meagre supply of materials. He was put to work and the keel was laid for the new vessel. Baranof gathered the iron from the wrecks, he searched for ore in the mountains, found it but could not smelt it; he made turpentine from the trees, and built a sawmill to cut the timber. He mixed his paints for the hull with whale oil, while he colored it with iron rust. He sent men out to search for the native copper of the Copper River, of which the Indians of that country brought pieces to him for trade. He burned bricks to build the Russian stoves in the houses and shipped others to Okhotsk.[6]

In August of 1794 the first ship, the Phoenix, was completed, the first to be built on the west coast of North America, north of Vancouver Island. He sent her to Okhotsk with furs, and set to work to build two small sloops on the little island near St. Paul's Harbor, called Elovoi, or Spruce Island, where there is a growth of timber. They were completed and named the "Delphin" and the "Olga," and were but about 40 feet in length, small craft for that stormy ocean.[7]

A settlement was to be made at Yakutat Bay, for which 30 families of settlers had been sent by Shelikof, intended for agriculture. They were quarrelsome and undisciplined; felt they were going to the end of the earth, and were rebellious thereat. They were sent in a boat commanded by a Lieutenant of the Imperial Navy who had been assigned to serve in the colony.[8] The Lieutenant believed his dignity was lowered by taking orders from a mere trader so he sailed away to Nuchek and stayed there. A week later Baranof went to Yakutat in the "Olga" and found the settlers had not arrived. Weeks passed and no settlers, Baranof sailed to Sitka, passed in

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[5]"I believe never has a ship been built under such difficulties as ours. To preserve the hull during the winter I had to contrive some kind of paint and finally made up a mixture of spruce tar, whale oil, and iron rust, which seemed to have considerable consistency, and with this the whole vessel was painted and impregnated.....Old pieces of iron from wrecks and broken up vessels had to be worked up into bolts and other articles necessary for the construction of the vessel and there were only two blacksmiths to do it. Though I did what I could to keep the laborers constantly employed, it could not always be done during the winter and then they would put their heads together for conspiracies, and come to me with complaints, crying for better provision. They were dissatisfied with the continual diet of youkali [dried salmon] of which they received 2 pounds per day each, whether working or idle."—Baranof to Shelikof, May 20, 1795, in Tikhmenef, II, App., 82.

[6]Ibid, p. 93.

[7]**Zhizneopisanie**, p. 25.

[8]**Zhizneopisanie**, p. 29.

through the strait at the north he named Olga Strait[9] after his boat, anchored in a bay where he placed a cross and called it *Krestof Zaliva,* or Cross Bay, that still bears his name, then he crossed the six hundred miles of the gulf of Alaska to the post at Nuchek to find that his missing ship had been there, ostensibly to get water, and had then sailed back to Kodiak Island.[10]

Arriving at St. Paul's Harbor, he found that the priests and the insubordinate lieutenants had been sowing sedition and making the hunters and natives dissatisfied with their food, their pay, their houses, and attempting to undermine his authority. The hunters were not going out for sea otter the next year, the priests were not going to live on the *Yukali,* or dried fish, the Lieutenant had been knouting the natives to show he was the man in command and that they must obey him. His letters say he quelled the incipient mutiny "perhaps at the risk of my life," he writes to Shelikof. He sent the most unruly to distant stations and kept the rest under control for the winter. The situation was so unpleasant that he writes to Shelikof in the same letter: "Old age is approaching, my constitution cannot bear up much longer, at night I must use a glass to read and write, and my cheerful spirit is on the wane. I feel it is beyond my power to fulfil and attend in person to all the important duties imposed on me. Besides this I hear that you take heed of every breath of calumny and slander that reaches you against me. * * I should not be judged by hearsay only. * * If long and faithful services have not gained me your confidence it is better that they should be at once severed."[11]

To the southeast coast he also sent a ship under Shields to reconnoitre the grounds for the sea otter, for that was the life of the colony. His own observations at Sitka told him that he must go to that region for a new station. Shields went to Bucarelli Bay and thence up the coast noting the bays and gathering skins to the number of 2,000.[12]

The next year, the nummer of 1796, he placed the colony at Yakutat, building barracks and storehouses; left hunters and settlers with their children to number of 20 persons; and named the colony

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[9]K. Khlebnikof, in **Materiali dlya Istoria Russkikh Zaselenii po beregam vostochnuvo okeana** [Materials for the History of the Russian Settlements on the Shores of the Eastern Ocean.] St. Petersurg, 1861, part iv, p. 41.

[10]**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 25.

[11]Baranof to Shelikof, in Tikhmenef, II, App., 77.

[12]Khlebnikof, in **Materiali,** etc., part iv, p. 42.

New Russia.[13] On the return voyage the ship "Three Saints" was wrecked at Kamishak Bay.[14]

Three years later with two vessels and 550 bidarkas of Aleut hunters he made his way to Sitka and buying of Chief Skay-eut-lelt a site for his settlement he built storehouses, barracks, and other houses, surrounding the whole with a stockade, protected by block-houses on the angles. The lieutenant commanding one of his vessels not liking the work of building forts, sailed away with all the furs gathered during the summer, went to Yakutat and took on board the agent of that settlement, went to Nuchek and loaded the finest furs that Kuskof had gathered, then lost his ship on Sukli (Montague) Island as he went to sea. Polomoshnoi, the Yakutat agent, and five men were drowned. Doubtless Baranof would have been gratified if the lieutenant, Talin, had also been drowned; his letters do not so mention; but he mourns the loss of 22,000 rubles of his finest furs.[15]

The winter was a trying one, for the provisions were poor and scanty. Sea lion and seal meat was the fare for most of the time. Of these they killed 45 sea lions and 250 seals. It was a stormy season and rain fell almost incessantly. Scurvy attacked the men and some died, but with spring and the herring run the rest grew better and no more deaths occurred.[16]

With the coming of summer he sailed in the Olga to Kodiak, where he first learned of the loss of the "Orel" under command of Talin, and of the loss of the furs. He left Medvednikof in charge at Sitka, at the station which he speaks of as "we intended to call the new fort Novo Arkangelsk, but on the request of the men it was placed under the special protection of the Archistrategos St. Michael."[17]

At Kodiak he heard that the coast was strewn with the wreckage of a ship. Various articles were cast up by the sea and finally a capstan was found that was identified as that belonging to the "Phoenix" and then they knew that their long expected supply ship was lost, and with all on board.[18] There would be nothing with

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[13]Tikhmenef, I. p. 54; **Zhizneopisanie,** p. 42.

[14]During the winter of 1797-98 he fell from a ladder and injured his leg so that he was confined to his bed for three months. Just as he was able to be up, the girl who was keeping his house came in the room with a samovar of hot water, stumbled, and spilled the water on his sore limb, scalding it so badly that he was again bedridden for a month.—Baranof to Larinof, agent at Unalaska, in Tikhmenef, II, App., 119.

[15]**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 49.

[16]**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 51; Tikhmenef, II, 130-132.

[17]Baranof to Rodionof, agent at Nuchek, May 14, 1800. in **Tikhmenef,** II, App., 130. "The fort was consecrated under the name of St. Archangel Michael."—Tikhmenef, I, 83.

[18]Baranof to Lurionof, in Tikhmenef, II, App., 156.

which to pay his hunters for another year. But furs must be had. He sent out men to hunt sea birds with bright plumage and had the Aleut women to make gay parkas and other articles and when the summer came he paid his hunters in those articles, with the addition of what few stores he had remaining from the old stock. The next year there came to St. Paul's the American ship *Enterprise,* with a cargo of trading goods, and, with furs, they were purchased,[19] and this carried them through another winter.

In May Councillor Banner arrived in a bidarka from Unalaska, having come 500 miles to bring the messages that a charter had been granted by the Russian government to the Russian American Company, that Baranof had been made a stockholder, had been raised to the rank of a nobleman and would be permitted to wear the gold medal of the order of St. Vladimir. Baranof was so rejoiced over the good tidings that he at once donated the sum of 1,000 rubles for the establishment of a school for the children of the Russians and the islanders.

By this message he also learned of the war in Europe and at once secreted his furs, fearing a raid from some vessel of the enemy. On the 21st of June the Ekaterina was despatched to Yakutat and Sitka with reenforcements and supplies,[20] but it was too late in sailing, for Sitka had already fallen before the attack of the Kolosh (Thlingit) warriors.[21]

On the 24th of June came from Sitka the English ship "Unicorn," commanded by Captain Barber, who had on board the survivors of the massacre of the post of Archistrategos St. Michael. He brought 3 Russians, 2 Aleuts, and 18 Kadyak women, rescued from the garrison left at Old Sitka. He claimed that he had bought the captives at a great expense of goods and time and asked the sum of 50,000 rubles as a ransom.

Baranof was at Afognak when Barber arrived but returned as soon as the news reached him. He found from the stories of the survivors that not only was nothing paid for the release, but that Barber secured most of the sea-otter at the post of which there were over 2,000 in the fur warehouses.[22] He finally paid 10,000

19**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 62.

20Ibid, p. 66.

21"The Kolosh call themselves **Thlinkit,** adding to it **An-ton-kou-an,** i. e., people from everywhere, or people from all villages. But from where they receive the name of **Kolosh,** or **Kolluzhei,** is not known."—Veniaminof. **Zapiski,** etc., part iii, p. 28.

22**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 69; Tikhmenef, part i, p. 86.

rubles for the freedom of his people, and in addition bought guns and goods to the amount of 27,000 rubles.

This was a hard blow, the loss in men and munitions, in hunters and furs, could not be estimated, and the colony was not in position to endure losses. The situation was most unpromising, but with the magnitude of the difficulties his courage rose to meet them. The post must be reestablished in order to keep the prestige of the company and of the Russian people.

Fortune was now changing for Baranof. Banner had been sent to Unalaska in the sloop "Olga" to secure some supplies and returned safely. From Okhotsk came the brig "Alexander," the first supply ship for five long years, arriving the 13th of September, and on November 1st the brig "Elizabeth" dropped anchor in the harbor under command of Khvostof, a skillful lieutenant of the Royal navy. On these last two boats were more than 120 men, hunters and craftsmen, and supplies of all kinds for the stores. Orders came from the head office of the Company appointing Baranof as Chief Manager of the American Colonies. *"Glavnavo Pravtielya kolonii v' Amerikye."*[23]

With the coming of Spring in 1803 all was bustle and stir at the harbor of St. Paul; Banner was despatched to Unalaska with orders to send a ship to the Seal Islands to take seals, for these islands and the Unalaska station were now under the control of Baranof for the first time; Khvostoff was ordered to Okhotsk with a cargo of fur valued at more than a million rubles; Baranof went to Yakutat in the "Olga" and thence to Sitka to inspect the ruined post.[24] Plans were made for the reinstatement of the Russian rule on the islands in the coming year. Kuskof was instructed to build two small boats at Yakutat to use on the expedition, and Baranof returned to Kodiak to complete his arrangements, and assemble his forces.[25]

At Kodiak was Captain O'Keen, of the American ship "Boston," who asked for a fleet of bidarkas and the Aleuts to man them, for a sea otter hunting voyage along the coast of California, offering

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23By this boat he also received the duplicate bills of lading for the ship Phoenix lost in 1799, and learned that on board the ship was Archimandrite Joassaf, who had gone to Moscow to be ordained a bishop and was returning to the colony. The boat was under command of the shipbuilder Shields, who was lost with the rest of the passengers and crew.

24The only passage that I have found in the Russian histories of Alaska that would justify considering the Thlingit people as being head-hunters is that which says: "There they found the mutilated bodies of their companions without heads; they wept over their remains, and hid them in the bosom of the earth."—Khlebnikof, **Materiali**, part iv, page 49.

25**Zhizenopisanie.** pp. 74.75.

half of the proceeds for the share of the Company. Baranof accepted and gave him 20 bidarkas and the men under charge of a trusted employe named Shoetzof. The ship left October 26th, sailed to San Diego Bay, California, then to San Quentin in Lower California, secured 1,100 sea otter skins and returned in March.[26]

In April of 1804 Baranof gathered his forces, despatched 300 bidarkas with over 800 Aleuts under command of Demianenkof, while he sailed with the "Ekaterina" and the "Alexander" for Yakutat on the 4th of the month. At Yakutat Kuskof had ready the two boats ordered the previous year and they were named the "Ermak" and the "Rostislaf." The boats sailed down the coast toward Sitka, Baranof going in at Ledianof (Cross) Sound and hunting with the Aleuts in the passages among the islands, as far as Lynn Canal and then passing down Chatham Strait and through Peril Strait, called *Pogibshie*[27] by the Russians, securing 1,500 sea otter.

In the harbor at Sitka was the ship "Neva" under command of Lieutenant Lisianski, the first Russian vessel to circumnavigate the world.[28] She had come from Kronstad with a cargo of anchors, cables, guns, provisions, etc., for the use of the colony. Upon reaching Kodiak Captain Lisianski received a message from Baranof asking his assistance in the recapture of the post and he at once proceeded to the harbor.

On the Kekoor, or Katlean's Rock, as the Baranof Hill was called by the Russians, were the homes of the chiefs of the Sitka Kwan, Ska-yout-lelt, Ska-at-a-gech, and Ko-yough-kan, and on the top was a redoubt. Around the hill was the village. The inhabitants abandoned this position and went to the fort at the mouth of Indian River, *Kolosh Reka,* of the Russians,[29] situated in what is now the park where the totems are placed.

The Russian ships were brought into the bay facing the Indian fort and after a siege of several days the defenders abandoned their position and retreated to Hoots-na-hoo where there was another stronghold. In an attack upon the fort Baranof was wounded in the arm and several sailors and Aleuts were killed and wounded.[30] About

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[26]From 1803 to 1812 nine boats took 16,071 sea otter along the coast of California and on the way between there and Sitka.—**Zhizneopisanie,** pp. 76-77.

[27]Pogibshie, or Destruction Strait, was so named by the Russians on account of the death of over a hundred Aleut hunters during 1799 from eating poisonous mussels while on a hunting trip.—Khlebnikof, in **Materiali,** part iv, page 43; **Zhizneopisanie,** pp. 78-81.

[28]Tikhmenef, part i, p. 94; Lisianski, **Voyage Round the World.**

[29]Khlebnikof, in **Materiali,** part iv, p. 42.

[30]There were 10 killed and 24 wounded.—**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 87.

30 Indians were found dead in the enclosure after the retreat.

They began the building of the new fort and the settlement was called Novo Arkangelsk,[31] or New Archangel. A thousand timbers were squared in the forest by the axes, a storehouse for the supplies was first built, then barracks for the men, and a house for the Manager,[32] all surrounded by a stockade of logs. The Neva sailed away to Kodiak for the winter, the Russians cleared away the forest and made the ground into gardens.

On the 10th of June, 1805, the Neva set sail for Kronstad, via Canton, and on board was a cargo of fur, 3,000 sea otter, 150,000 sealskins, and other fur to the value of 450,000 rubles.[33]

On the 26th of August into the port came the brig "Maria" and on board was the Chamberlain of the Czar, N. P. Resanof, delegated by the Company to make a tour of the colonies, and invested with special powers. He shared the hardships and the responsibilities of the situation with Baranof during the winter of 1805-6.

Provisions became short and the Am. Ship "Juno" coming into the port was purchased for 68,000 Spanish piastres. She was then sent to Kodiak for dried salmon, sea lion meat, etc., and she made the voyage and returned on the 13th of November, with provisions and bad tidings. The brig "Elizabeth" was wrecked and most of her cargo lost; six bidars loaded with furs sank and the men and furs went to the bottom of the sea; the fort at Yakutat had been destroyed by the Kolosh; a bidarka fleet under Demianenkof, numbering nearly 200 men, had perished in a storm on the ice bound coast off Mt. St. Elias.[34]

The winter was a miserable one as told in Resanof's letters and reports.[35] "The site of the fort was selected on a large rock, or kekoor, which forms a peninsula in the bay. * * On top of the rock a temporary building has been erected, five fathoms long and three in width, with two rooms and alcoves. In one of the rooms I live and in the other both our ship's captains. * * We all live poorly, but worse than all lives the founder of this place, in a mis-

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31"Baranof went ashore and ascended a high rock which was sufficiently level on top for the erection of a building, and there hoisted a flag, thus taking possession of the soil in the name of the Russian Government, and named the place the fort of **Novo Arkangelsk.**"—**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 83.

32The first Baranof Castle.—**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 88.

33**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 89.

34**Zhizneopisanie,** pp. 99-100.

35—Resanof to Directors of the Russian American Company, November 6, 1805, in Tikhmenef, II, App., 197 et seq.

erable hut, so damp that the floor is always wet, and during the constant heavy rains the places leaks like a seive."

On shore every one was busy, a wharf and landing was constructed, ways for the building of ships were laid and the keels were laid for an armed brig and a tender. Resanof continues, "Our cannon are always loaded and not only are sentries with loaded guns posted everywhere, but arms of all kinds constitute the principal furniture of our rooms." "The people employed as hunters are quarrelsome, drunkards, and so vicious that any community must call itself fortunate to have got rid of them." "I can tell you that more than once I have found Mr. Baranof in hot tears because the Bostonian Captain who is wintering here, and my Doctor, found only a drunken republic here when the Emperor, as they know, wished to establish his government here and sent me as a plenipotentiary." "The deeply rooted contempt of the upper classes (Naval Officers) for the commercial classes makes all of them play master here." "It is true the Chief Agent holds rank in the civil service, which he has earned by his distinguished services, but the fact that he formerly was a trader is never lost sight of, and to our country's misfortune that means that he is not far removed from a rogue, and thus to obey him appears a humiliation to them." "His brother sent him from Okhotsk, 9 vedras of French brandy and 3 vedras of table wine, they were drank up. Mr. Kock sent him upon repeated request in the course of three years, two English watches, they were appropriated by officers and publicly worn, saying they were their own, and that they paid for them, and Mr. Baranof, glad to receive the gold watch sent to him by you, did not care to investigate the matter any farther."[36]

On board the ships under command of the Naval Officers was pandemonium during part of the winter. The best one of the lieutenants in the service, Khvostof, "gets drunk and stays so for 3 months—drinks 9½ vedras of French brandy and 2½ vedras of strong spirits, and get his officers drunk. * * their insults and threats are incredible, they shoot off their cannon at night, all labor on the wharf is delayed on account of the drunkenness of the masters and mates." Midshipman Davidof asked to come ashore, "he could better live on the open beach than on the ship." Orders were given to shut off the liquors from the ships and Khvostof laid a plan to capture Baranof and Resanof,[37] but they heard of it and surrounded

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[36]Ibid, pp. 208-220.

[37]Resanof to Directors, February 15, 1806, in Ibid., pp. 242-250.

the conspirators and disarmed them. When sobered Khvostof came and apologised.[38]

The continuous insults caused Baranof and his chief assistant, Kuskof, to present their resignations to Resanof, but he refused to accept them and ordered them to return to their duties.

In February, 1805, the supply of provisions became low and Resanof went on the "Juno" to California to purchase breadstuffs. On his way he attempted to enter the mouth of the Columbia, with the view of establishing a settlement at that place. This was the year that Lewis and Clarke reached that point.[39]

The tender "Avoss" and the brig "Sitka" were turned off the ways at the shipyard. The main countinghouse was transferred from Kodiak to Sitka. The American ships that were coming along the coasts to trade with the Indians were persuaded that it was to their interest to sell their cargoes at the post for furs rather than to attempt to deal with the natives direct. The insubordinate officers were gradually eliminated from the service.

Sea otter were hunted through the sounds by the brigades of Aleuts under convoy of armed sailing vessels. The summer of 1805 a party under Buikadorof went to Khoontzofsky (Chatham) Strait, and to Kinovsky Bay (Pr. Frederick Sound), securing 1645 skins, but they were continually threatened by the Kolosh, who were still hostile and revengeful. One year a party would go to Cape Ommaney, another year to the Bay of Islands or to the sounds. In 1810 Kuskof took a party to Dundas Island but met so much opposition from the Tsimpsien Indians and an American trader who threatened to join the natives against the Ruissians, that he was forced to return after losing 8 Aleut hunters.[40] He secured 1,400 skins but after this no parties were sent to hunt on the sounds.

Baranof kept looking toward extending his settlements. In 1808 he fitted out the schooner "Nikolai" and the ship "Kadiak" for a hunting trip along the southern coast. Kuskof, with a party of Aleut hunters, was sent with them. The Nikolai was to trade on the Columbia and then return to meet the Kadiak at Gray's Harbor. Somewhere on the harbor she met shipwreck, and the Kadiak after

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[38]When Lieutenant Khvostof became sober he went to Baranof and apologized. Three Aleuts who had heard Khvostof make threats against the Chief Manager thought that he was going there for the purpose of injuring him, so armed with knives they followed and secreted themselves near to protect him in case of need. After the interview was over they were found where they had laid in wait.Ibid, p. 250.

[39]Resanof to the Minister of Finance, June 17, 1805, in Ibid, p. 254.

[40]Khlebnikof, in **Materiali**, part iii, p. 7.

waiting for her was not able to enter the harbor and sailed to Trinidad, California, then to Bodega Bay, where he spent the winter with his hunters, securing 1,900 sea otter, and returned to Sitka October 4, 1809.[41]

Kuskof's report was so favorable that Baranof at once made preparations for placing a settlement on Bodega Bay which was done by Kuskof in 1812,[42] at the place known thereafter as Ross, near the bay which they renamed Rumiantzof Bay.

The numerous dissensions among the hunters at the port and their unruly conduct ended during 1809 in a conspiracy headed by a man named Naplavkof. This was promptly suppressed by Baranof and the ringleaders sent to Siberia for trial.[43]

Baranof still asked to be relieved and to be allowed to return to see about his family and property in Siberia. In 1811 Collegiate Assessor Koch was appointed as an assistant and to take the management in due course of time. He reached Petropaulovsk, on his way to Sitka, and died at that place.[44] In 1813 on board the "Neva" came round the world Collegiate Councillor Bornovolokof,[45] and at the very entrance of the harbor of Sitka on a stormy February day the ship was wrecked on Cape Edgecomb and the expected successor was among the lost.

Astor sent ships to trade at Sitka and Baranof bought the cargoes and traded him furs in return. He even sent cargoes of fur to Canton on these vessels to be sold on commission.

The Chief Manager was old and tired but as long as he held the reins of power he could not cease planning for new ventures. He bought both vessels and cargoes that came to Sitka. Some of them received their pay in sealskins for which they went to the Seal Islands. They then went to Canton, sold the fur, bought silks, teas, nankins, etc., and went on around the world to Boston.[46]

Far down to the southward is a group of islands at the cross roads of the Pacific that were in those days known as the Sandwich Islands. Toward these Baranof began to look, and in 1815 he sent Dr. Sheffer, a German, as his agent to look over the ground in order to get a foothold if possible. Sheffer acquired plantations on Attuva and built houses, but owing to Americans and English objecting and

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41 **Zhizneopisanie,** p. 126.
42 **Zhizneopisanie,** pp. 145-46.
43 **Zhizneopisanie,** p. 129.
44 **Zhizneopisanie,** p. 145.
45 **Zhizneopisanie,** p. 149.
46 Baranof also tried to open trade with Manila, but his efforts were not successful.—**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 155.

fomenting trouble it was as Khlebnikof says "begun auspiciously, but ended in a very unhappy manner," and Baranof was compelled to withdraw with a loss of over 200,000 rubles on the part of the Russian American Company.[47]

In July of 1817 the ship "Suvarof" arrived from Russia with supplies for the colonies. Baranof at once began making arrangements for her return trip. November 20th the ship "Kutusof" arrived, having on board a rich cargo of stores, under command of Lieutenant Hagemeister of the Imperial navy. The arrangements for the sailing of the Suvarof were completed, the furs were loaded, and she was ready to clear. Then Hagemeister announced to Baranof that he was commissioned to relieve him as chief manager of the Company, and held the "Suvarof" for three days, until January 14th, to prepare his despatches to the office in St. Petersburg.[48]

The officers of the Russian navy had at last succeeded in supplanting the man who had built the Russian dominion in America. They despised his profession, and him as a merchant, but they were willing to accept his position for a consideration, whether they were able to conduct the business or would fail.

Baranof, with all his losses of ships and cargoes of furs, caused largely by the mismanagement of the naval officers under his command, had always paid a dividend for the Company. At the time of his withdrawal from the management the physical valution of the goods and furs turned over to his successor at Sitka was 2,500,000 rubles, exclusive of those sent out on the Suvarof.[49] In that year the amount of fur in Russia in the hands of the Company was 900,000 rubles, and for that year and the next, out of the proceeds of Baranof's management, they paid 7½% dividends. To quote the words of the Auditor Golovin, writing in 1861, "At this time the Company began to decline on account of the want of system in the shipment of furs, and the shipment of provisions in the Company's vessels burdened it with a heavy expense, as the maintenance of the ships cost much and they sailed very slowly. The slow returns did not pay expenses, though the quantity of furs began to increase again, and the goods sent out by the Company were twice as dear as those traded from foreigners in the port. In 1820-21 the earnings were only 4% for each year and in 1822-3 a loss of 286,000 rubles was sustained."[50]

Baranof was in his 72nd year, a strenuous life with its attend-

47Zhizneopisanie, pp. 165-67.
48Zhizneopisanie, p. 172.
49Zhizneopisanie, p. 173.
50Golovin's Report, in Materiali, part ii, p. 112.

ant hardships had severely taxed a frame naturally strong and wiry but not large; the sudden shock of the relief coming so unexpectedly was severe, but he rose to the occasion and at once began the transfer of the property which was completed in September, 1818. The change from the great responsibility, together with being separated so long from his family in Russia and the severing of all ties connecting him with that country, left him in doubt as to how building a house at the Ozerskoe Redoubt, by the shore of Globokoe Lake, in which to live, when Golovnin persuaded him that he should go to St. Petersburg where he would be a valuable counsellor for the Company and they would care for him in his old age.[51]

His wife had died in Kargopol more than 20 years before and his daughter there was married. His son Antipater, born in the colony at Kodiak, had been taken to St. Petersburg by the naval officer, Golovnin, and there died. His daughter at Sitka, a Creole, had married Lieutenant Yanovski, of the ship "Suvarof."

The representations of Golovnin prevailed and Baranof sailed in the Kutusof November 27th, 1818, he was detained at Batavia for 36 days, leaving that place April 12th, 1819. His stay in that tropical climate was fatal, for he was taken on board the ship, ill with a fever, and on the 16th of the month he died and was buried at sea in the Indian Ocean on the next day.[52]

For nearly twenty-eight years he had been the moving and directing spirit over Russian America. When he came to the colony he found a post at Three Saints Bay, built of alder and plastered with clay and the substations extended only to the island of Kodiak and to Cook Inlet. He left an empire in extent whose outposts were at Ross in California, on the Pribylof Islands and the Kurile Islands. For the Shelikof Company he gathered furs from 1790 to 1799, to the amount of 1,123,600 rubles, and for the Russian American Company between 1799 and 1818 he collected nearly the whole of the amount of 35,000,000 rubles in value.[53] The capital of the Company in 1799 was 724,000 rubles. New shares were issued for 515,738.78 rubles and he added profits of 3,190,687 rubles 57 kopeks, besides paying dividends of 3,060,000 rubles, over and above all

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51 **Zhizneopisanie,** pp. 174-75; Tikhmenef, part I, p. 244.

52 **Zhizneopisanie,** p. 177.

53 V. N. Berg, **Furs, Historical Review of the Fur Trade,** St. Petersburg, 1823, p. 168.

losses and expenses. He built churches[54] and established schools. Ten vessels were constructed under his management in the territory of Alaska and four others in Ross. He introduced cattle at Kodiak, Unalaska, Unga, Sitka and Ross. There were 500 head of cattle at Kodiak during his time.[55] He extended his trade to California, to China and the Sandwich Islands. He gave to the church, the schools, and to his assistants. The Russian Possessions in the New World attained their widest extent under the direction of Alexander Andreevich Baranof.

C. L. Andrews.

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[54]The first church in Alaska. "In Kadyak [Kodiak] meantime, a church was being built. Baranof was indefatigable in his efforts to push the undertaking and aid the Archimandrite Joassaf. In a letter he said: 'From my own resources I managed to give 500 rubles, and from various employes collected 500 rubles more.'"—Zhizneopisanie, p. 33. On March 18, 1795, Joassaf, the archimandrite, wrote to Shelikof, complaining bitterly of Baranof for not building a church.—**Tikhmenef,** II, App., 101. "To Unalaska I have forwarded timber and planks for a chapel and they were taken by Ismailof. There is enough to finish it though some more will be required for the residence of a priest in course of time."—Baranof to Shelikof, May 20, 1795, in **Tihkmenef,** II, App., 93. "In Sitka arrive a priest in 1816 and commenced to perform church service. The building of a church was at once commenced and soon the first building of the kind on the northwest shore of America was completed."—**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 170.

[55]Cattle on Kodiak Island.—**Zhizneopisanie,** p. 205.

FORT HALL ON THE SAPTIN RIVER*

Embraced in the component parts of modern civilization there are three potent factors:—civil government, commerce and religion. These elements are frequently symbolized by the flag, the dollar mark and the Cross respectively. Their advent into the territory that now constitutes the state of Idaho occurred when the limits of Old Oregon extended from the Pacific ocean, along the 42nd parallel to a point 18 miles northeast of Rawlins, Wyo., thence along the continental divide to the Arctic ocean. Their coming was hand in hand, the first and last under the protection of the second, a relative position, some contend, that they occupy even to this day. They made their first stand on the east bank of the Saptin, afterwards known as the Lewis, and now by the name of Snake river,[1] at a point six miles above the mouth of the Portneuf, 20 miles above American Falls, and 1,288 miles out of Independence, Mo., on the Oregon Trail.

Strictly speaking, both the flag and sign of commerce had been seen before in Idaho, but here was the first manifestation of the Christian faith in all the vast territory of old Oregon. The first American flag to enter the state of Idaho was a small one borne by George Drewyer (Drouillard), the interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, who, together with Captain Meriwether Lewis, and John Shields, entered what is now the state of Idaho, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, Aug. 12, 1805. Not only was this the first flag, but it was the first foot print to be made by a white man in the state, and the place of this interesting event appears to have been at a point about 12 miles east of Sunfield, Lemhi county. This expedition raised a flag at Fort Clatsop during that winter, but the following spring it was made over into five gowns with which food was purchased from the Indians to sustain the company during a period of famine. The second flag was raised at Fort Astor in 1811,

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*This article appeared first in the Capital News of Boise, Idaho, February 20, 1916. T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla secured a revised copy for this Quarterly.

1This magnificent river has no right to be known as the Snake River. Early usages appear to have attached to it the name of Saptin (Sahaptin) after the tribe of Nez Perces Indians which inhabited the lower section of the river and which was the principal tribe of the Shahaptain family The Shoshonean family, which included the Shoshones, Bannocks, Utahs, Paiutes, and Comanches, originally inhabited all tributary country from the mouth of Salmon River to Wyoming. The name Shoshone River would have been more appropriate, but the proper name is Lewis River, and by that name it should be known at this time, in honor of Meriwether Lewis, the first white man to look upon its waters.

only to be lowered again on Oct. 16, 1813, upon the failure of Mr. Astor's enterprise. According to the terms of peace following the war of 1812, the British government permitted Mr. J. B. Prevost, Oct. 6, 1818, to again unfurl the American flag over Fort Astoria, but he had been gone hardly an hour before the British flag was again run up to remain the symbol of authority until 1846. The next episode in the career of the flag of the Union in the northwest brings us back to Fort Hall, the subject of this narrative.

It was a motley company that composed the cavalcade which emerged from the pass at the head of Ross Fork, on the afternoon of Sunday, July 12, 1834, and, following down that stream nine miles, encamped near where Fort Hall station is now located on the Oregon Short Line north of Pocatello. The company was in command of Nathaniel J. Weyth, a trader from Cambridge, Mass., and under whose protection there traveled, in addition to his company of 50 men and 130 horses, Captain William Stewart, a veteran under Lord Wellington at Waterloo, who was traveling for pleasure; Thomas Nuttall, a botanist; J. K. Townsend, an ornithologist, and a Methodist missionary party consisting of Revs. Jason Lee and Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard and P. L. Edwards.

The following day, Monday, they traveled only six miles to a bend in the Snake river to the northwest, where the company again encamped, and from a small slough near the river, spent the day taking trout of the finest quality and weighing about two pounds each. The following morning Mr. Wyeth rode down the river three miles to a point where a small water way led off from the main stream, and which was fringed with willow brush that concealed his presence. When he emerged from the growth he noticed a large buffalo bull near by, which he shot, and as he stood by the carcass and observed the wide river which makes a sharp bend to the south, and the slough forming a protection to the east, with a suitable point of land sufficient for the purpose, he then and there located the historic Fort Hall, destined to become one of the most important stations on the famous Oregon Trail, and, until the building of Fort Bridger, nine years later, the second building west of the Missouri river. It was here that the first flag raising in Idaho was celebrated, which was the fourth event of the kind west of the Rocky mountains, and it was here that the first sermon was preached in that vast territory, the distinction belonging to the Methodist society. It was at Fort Hall where Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding, the first American women to cross the continent, were entertained two years later, and

it was here that more than 300,000 American pioneers replenished their scanty stores to enable them to reach the Pacific coast. Before its fall in 1855, the fame of this post had reached the civilized countries of the world, but today the historic spot is deserted and forgotten and the only sound that disturbs the death-like quietude is the moanful dirge of the desert winds that play in the tree tops of the grove hard by, the same grove in which Jason Lee, 81 years ago, introduced the Christian faith to the wilds of the Pacific Northwest.

The story of Fort Hall, replete with intrigue, pathos, courage, hope and failure of those who were present when it was founded, is one of unmeasured interest to students of history and a brief narrative of its most salient features may be not amiss. The fort was located at the northern extremity of a natural meadow consising of several thousand acres of rich bottom land, formed by the confluence of the Snake and Portneuf rivers. A number of bright sparkling streams, fed by pure cold springs, traverse the valley of about three miles, all of which teemed with trout and beaver. It had been a favorite feeding ground during the winter seasons for deer, elk and buffalo. The country properly belonged to the Shoshones or Snake Indians, but the dreaded Blackfeet were wont to swoop down upon these bountiful game fields and the ubiquitous wandering of this powerful tribe is evidenced by their name being given to one of the principal streams of the locality.

A great Indian trail from the south which crossed the divide near Malad city and followed down Bannock creek and up the Snake river on its way to the headwaters of the Missouri, intersected another of even greater importance near where the fort was located. It was the last mentioned trail that Mr. Wyeth and his party had followed for some 1,200 miles and which afterwards became known as the Oregon trail. From a commercial standpoint the country had been exploited by the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, first under the command of Alexander Ross, then Peter Skene Ogden, Donald McKenzie and others. Their trading expeditions were fitted out at Spokane House, located nine miles northwest of the present city of Spokane, Wash., thence by way of Flathead Post and the Bitter Root valley, but McKenzie established headquarters at old Fort Walla Walla and reached the territory by way of the trail that afterwards constituted the Columbia river section of the Overland route, and still later followed by the O. S. L. and O. R. & N. railways.

After the coalition of the two British companies the Hudson's

Bay Company continued to occupy the country and practically was in possession of all the territory west of Green River at the time of Mr. Wyeth's arrival.

Wyeth had been west as far as Fort Vancouver two years before and had attempted to establish himself "in such branches of business as may be expedient," but the loss of his vessel, the Sultana, at the Society islands, which he had engaged to bring out his goods by way of Cape Horn, caused the expedition to end in disaster. Accepting the hospitality of the Hudson's Bay Company, he set out for the east by way of the Spokane House, Flathead, Bitter Root and the Portneuf, thence by way of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. While engaged in making a bull boat on the Bighorn river, near where the "Burlington" now crosses that stream north of Sheridan, Wyo., he contracted with Milton Sublette, on the part of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to bring out for that company the following year $3,000 worth of merchandise. After passing Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone he made the remaining part of the journey to Independence in the company of only two Indian lads, one a Nez Perce and the other, Baptiste, a boy of 13, son of Francis Payette and his Flathead wife. At that time, 1833, this may be considered to have been a journey hazardous in the extreme, the entire route being through a country infested with hostile tribes.

Undaunted by a complete failure we find Mr. Wyeth, after his arrival at Cambridge, actively engaged in the formation of what he termed "The Columbia River Fishing & Trading Company," organized for the purpose of establishing a salmon fishery at the mouth of the Willamette, which was to be operated in connection with a general fur business through the interior. His voluminous correspondence while at Cambridge, published by the University of Oregon in "Sources of the History of Oregon," volume 1, parts 3 to 6 (1899), affords an interesting study of the man who brought the American flag and the Protestant religion to the state of Idaho. His pack train on this occasion carried about 13,000 pounds of merchandise, some of which was purchased in the eastern markets shipped down the Ohio, the balance being purchased at St. Louis and sent by boat to Independence, Mo., from which place the expedition started. His pack animals were purchased across the river at Liberty, and the expedition set out on its long journey on the morning of April 28th, 1834.

In addition to the land caravan, Mr. Wyeth chartered another ship, the May Dacre, to go round by sea and meet him at the mouth of

the Willamette with a cargo of goods and material for the salmon fishery. The adventurous spirit of this enterprising Yankee seems to have been thoroughly sustained by the alluring prospects of a great success beyond the mountains. He made great haste in order to reach the Green river rendezvous ahead of William L. Sublette, a veteran of the fur trade, but in this he failed, a fact which caused some disquietude in the mind of Mr. Wyeth, for fear that worthy competitor might disturb his profitable contract with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.

The following letter appertains to the engagement to furnish safe conduct to the Methodist missionaries:

"New York, Feb. 15, 1834.

"Rev. Jason Lee (Baltimore).

"Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 11th inst., in answer to which say that I leave this city tomorrow morning and proceed directly west and remian but five or six days at St. Louis. You will hear from me in St. Louis by calling on Messrs. VonPhull & McGill.

"I think I received and answered a line from some one in western Mass., but I am not certain.

"&c. &c. N. J. W."

Relative to his pack train cargo, the following letter will throw some light:

"Louisville, March 4.

Capt. Thing (Louisville).

"Dear Sir: You will find at Mess. Allisons & Andersons 3 bbls Alcohol and 11 packages Tobacco, provided they do not ship the same before you arrive at this place in which case you will proceed direct to St. Louis.

"I am &c. N. J. Wyeth."

At St. Louis, on March 31st he notes the arrival of Nuttal, Townsend, and the missionaries. At Independence, on April 17th, he notes among other things that "There are none of the Dignitaries with me as yet and if they 'preach' much longer in the States they will lose their passage for I will not wait a minute for them."

The following notation in the journal of Mr. Wyeth, under date of June 1st, gives us the first building of the famous Fort Laramie, the first supply station on the Oregon Trail.

"At the crossing (Laramie river) we found 15 of Sublette's men camped for the purpose of building a fort, he having gone ahead

with his best animals and the residue of his goods he left about 14 loads."

The caravan arrived at the Green river rendezvous, 12 miles above the mouth of Big Sandy on the 19th of June, where the first bitter disappointment awaited him. In his journal he noted the following:

"* * * found rendezvous 12 miles up and much to my astonishment the goods which I had contracted to bring up to the Rocky Mountain Fur Co. was refused by those honorable gentlemen."

Mr. Wyeth appears to have been in a bad humor as a result of the treatment accorded him by the Rocky Mountain Fur Co., which was then competing with the Hudson's Bay Fur Company in the trade between the Rocky mountains and the Snake river valley. It is reported by some writers that he made this significant remark at the time: "I will roll a stone in your garden that you will have trouble in getting out." He broke camp the next morning and moved over to Ham's Fork, at a point where the town of Granger now stands, a distance of 23 miles, where he encamped for seven days. Here he wrote twelve letters, all of great interest, but we will forbear noting them except a few references pertaining to Fort Hall.

To Mr. Ermatinger, of the Hudson's Bay Company, he wrote:

"* * * * I am now on my way to meet a vessel that I sent from Boston to the mouth of the Columbia and hope to be there by the first of September. You have also enclosed a letter from Mr. Payette, whose son is now with me. I came up with goods and about 50 men, 130 horses. The goods I will have to leave for sale somewhere hereabouts with part of the men. I have got no Beaver and have sold but little and that for Drafts which I hope are good.

"I have a great desire to see you and repay in part for all the you not to come with a small party to the American Rendezvous. There are here a great collection of Scoundrels.

"I have a great desire to see you and repay in part for all the kindness which I received from you last year. * * *

"ya. obt. Sevt. and Friend

"NATH. J. WYETH."

It may be stated that it was through the courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose Snake river expedition Mr. Wyeth accompanied from Vancouver to Green river the year before, was in command of Mr. Ermatinger. This being the same trader who, in company with Joe Meek, Robert Newell and Caleb Wilkins, drove the first wagons from Fort Hall to the Columbia river. This oc-

curred in the fall of 1840, and the wagons, three in number, had been abandoned or left at Fort Hall that year, and the little company was outfitted by Mr. Ermatinger, from 1838 to 1841, in command of Fort Hall for the Hudson's Bay Company. This journey was made to establish the feasibility of taking wagons through to the Columbia, a task considered by many as being impossible at the time, and the route these men traveled was followed by the American emigrants until the Oregon trail fell into disuse more than 30 years afterwards.

In one of his letters from Ham's Fork, Mr. Wyeth expressed his bitter disappointment at being unable to deliver his goods at Green river, and that he needed the money to pay his company and other expenses of the journey. He advised his friends to keep away from the American rendezvous as it was composed of murderers and thieves and that crime of every nature was rampant. His men were willing to take goods, however, at a profit of 500 per cent over original cost and he settled with them with no difficulty. As to his future he said:

"I shall proceed about 150 miles west of this and establish a fort in order to make sale of the goods which remain on my hands. I have sent out messengers to the Pawnacks, Shoshones, Snakes, Nez Perces and Flatheads to make robes and come and trade them at this post. * * *"

He wrote cordial letters to Francis Payette, Captain Bonneville, who was then in the Bear river country and whose acquaintance he had made the previous year, and sent his kindly regards to Dr. McLoughlin, at Fort Vancouver. Though in competition with that great corporation, he appears to have been on terms of friendly intimacy with all its officers. On June 27 he broke camp again and moved up the trail in the direction of Bear river. July 4 found the caravan encamped at the forks of the Muddy, at a point where the town of Nuggett now stands, and the following entry in his journal indicates that they celebrated the day, but doubtless in a manner much to the disgust of the missionaries.

"I gave the men too much alcohol and took a pretty hearty spree myself. At the camp we found Mr. Cerry and Mr. Walker, who were returning to St. Louis with the furs collected by Mr. Bonneville's company, about 10 packs and men going down, to whom there is due $10,000."

The mountain value of a pack of beaver, about 90 pounds to the pack, was $500. July 6 the caravan camped on the ground now

occupied by the city of Montpelier, on July 8 at Soda Springs, and on the 10th they overtook the Bonneville party on the upper waters of the Blackfoot. Actuated by a feeling of selfishness, a spirit that amounts almost to a trait with the American people, the doughty captain was putting forth his utmost energy to escape his Yankee compeer, and doubtless would have succeeded had it not been for a social call that the nestor of the fur trade, Mr. Thomas McKay, saw fit to make his encampment on the Blackfoot.

The captain, with about 23 men, was encamped for the purpose of taking a supply of buffalo, when a scout announced that Wyeth was approaching from the Bear river. Their load of meat being too heavy to admit of rapid travel, the captain determined to cache his baggage so he might be able to elude the unwelcome countrymen until he could have an opportunity to either kill or drive all the buffalo out of their favorite feeding grounds on the upper Blackfoot, such being his solicitude for a fellow traveler in the wilderness. While thus engaged a pack train was seen filing over the divide from the direction of the headquarters of the Portneuf. It proved to be a trading expedition of the Hudson's Bay Company under the command of Thomas McKay, who encamped at no great distance. Now the captain was on his way to the Columbia, a country under the domination of that company, so he immediately forgot the object of his wiles and conjured in his mind a scheme to cultivate the friendship of the swarthy brigade commander, one of the most famous men of his day. Here followed the celebrated debauch, on a beverage brewed from honey and alcohol as delineated by Washington Irving in his "Bonneville Adventures."

Before the feast was fairly opened, Mr. Wyeth, far in advance of his company, rode up and the captain met him in a friendly and courteous manner. He acquainted his unwelcome guest with the news of the mountains and obtained from Mr. Wyeth an account of events in the east, after which they parted. The following day the captain, in his search for the buffalo, was unable to reach his own camp and was compelled, therefore, to accept the hospitality of Mr. Wyeth. The following day a fearful havoc was wrought in the buffalo herds of the Blackfoot, in which all hands of both expeditions took part. Captain Bonneville then hastened on his journey, leaving Wyeth to gather up what he could care for and pursue his journey in a more leisurely manner and in company with the sorrowful trader, McKay, now suffering from the effects of the captain's compound of honey and alcohol.

McKay was in no mood for rapid travel, however, and fell behind, so it was the caravan of Mr. Wyeth that halted on the bank of the Snake on Monday, July the 13th, and fished in the crystal waters of Portneuf bottoms, as noted in the beginning of this narrative. On the evening of the 14th, the cavalcade moved down to the site of the fort and again encamped where they remained for 23 days, during which time the fort was constructed. It was made of drift logs taken from the river, and cottonwood timber from the grove near by, and when completed, it presented a very formidable appearance, 60x60 feet on the ground, with a stockade about 12 feet high which formed the outer walls of the quarters, and two bastions on top so arranged that the guns would sweep either side in case of an attack.[2]

While the work was in progress the scientists and missionaries availed themselves of the opportunity to rest and enjoy the novelty of the situation. McKay had, in the meantime, fully recovered from the effects of "a swarm of bees in his head" and encamped with the party of Mr. Wyeth, in order, doubtless, to observe operations and be in position to report to his superior officers at Fort Vancouver. With his party there were now at Fort Hall nearly one hundred persons and more than two hundred and fifty jaded horses regaled themselves on the succulent grass of the bottom lands. On Sunday afternoon, July 26th, 1834, Mr. Wyeth invited Rev. Jason Lee to conduct religious services.

Without the least premonition of the fact that this was to be the first sermon in a future state, or of three states for that matter, and apparently without any thought of the historic significance of the event, preparations were made to hold the services in the grove of cottonwood trees, which grew within a few feet of the west wall of the fort. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon all was in readiness. The French and half-breeds of the Hudson's Bay Company party spoke English, as did all the Wyeth party, so the

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2Gray, in his History of Oregon, describes Fort Hall as it was in 1836, before it was rebuilt by the Hudson's Bay Company, as follows: "Fort Hall, in 1836, was a stockade, made of cotton-wood logs, about twelve feet long, set some two feet in the ground, with a piece of timber pinned near the top, running entirely around the stockade, which was about sixty feet square. The stores and quarters for the men were built inside with poles, brush, grass, and dirt for covering, stamped down so as to partially shed rain, and permit the guards to be upon the tops of the quarters and see over the top of the stockade."

In 1838, after its acquisition by the Hudson's Bay Co., the fort was enlarged and adobe walls substituted for the cotton-wood logs, and these walls were kept well whitewashed. This fact doubtless prompted Farnham to say (1839), "* * * and before us rose the white battlements of Fort Hall!"

services were conducted for the whites only. The entire company had assembled before the appearance of the missionaries.

Mr. Lee was a tall man but rather spare and inclined to stoop. He wore a full beard of light brown color and over a high forehead he roached high a heavy growth of rather darker shade of hair. He possessed large, blue eyes, and his kindly expression denoted deep and earnest thought. His lungs were tubercular to a degree which, to some extent at least, affected his voice, giving it a strong yet rather a grating sound. He wore the regulation ministerial garb and was assisted in the services by the three other members of his party. Standing under the shade of the trees, his congregation reclining in every conceivable attitude before him, the breaking waves of a great river at his back, and in the midst of a trackless desert, he delivered a message from Calvary—nineteen centuries in its coming. The bacchanalian orgies over buffalo hump and "honeydrips" which he had recently witnessed doubtless inspired the text from 1 Cor.: x, 31:

"Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

Let us indulge the hope that some day a marble shaft will mark the spot where the message arrived, and the words themselves, chiseled deep into its granite base, be a fitting tribute to the man of God who bore it.

After services the assemblage repaired to the race track to witness a horse race by two of McKay's men. One of the riders, a Frenchman by the name of Kanseau, was thrown from his horse and killed. Of this Mr. Lee wrote:

"The next day, Monday, Mr. McKay asked me to conduct a funeral service. I attended at 12 o'clock, read the 90th Psalm, prayed, and then went to the grave, where I read a part of the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, and also read the burial service as found in our Discipline."

Mr. Wyeth noted the event as follows:

"On the 26th a Frenchman named Kanseau was killed horse racing and on the 27th was buried near the fort. He belonged to Mr. McKay's party and his comrades erected a decent tomb for him. Services for him was performed by the Canadians in the Catholic form, by Mr. Lee in the Protestant form and by the Indians in their form as he had an Indian family. He at least was well buried."

On Thursday following Mr. McKay resumed his journey towards Fort Walla Walla, then the base of operations in the Snake

country, the missionaries joining his expedition. Mr. McKay presented Mr. Lee with two fine saddle horses, much to the delight of the latter and satisfaction to the former. Thomas McKay, when our people shall have awakened to the unmeasured interest in pioneer history, will occupy a unique position. As the agent for the Hudson's Bay Company, he had the distinction of escorting to their destinations the first Methodist, the first Presbyterians, and the first American women, and assisting the first Catholics to establish in old Oregon. As a French half-breed and a Catholic, he supported the Americans in the occupation of the country, fought with them in the Indian wars and was a friend and supporter of all religious sects.

August 6, Mr. Wyeth made the following entry in his journal:

"Having done so much as was requisite for safety to the fort and drank a bale of liquor and named it Fort Hall in honor of the oldest member of our concern (Henry Hall of Boston), we left it and with it Mr. Evans in charge of 11 men and 14 horses and mules and three cows."

Writing to his uncle on Oct. 6 from the Columbia river he gives us a better account in the following:

"Since mine of June 21 from Ham's Fork I have, as I then proposed, built a fort on Snake or Lewis river, which I named Fort Hall, from the oldest gentleman in the concern. We manufactured a magnificent flag from some unbleached sheeting, a little red flannel and a few blue patches, saluted it with damaged powder and wet it in villainous alcohol, and after all, I do assure you, it makes a very respectable appearance amid the dry and desolate regions of central America. Its bastions stand a terror to the sculking Indians and a beacon of safety to the fugitive hunter. It is manned by 12 men and has constantly loaded in the bastions 100 guns and rifles. These bastions command both inside and outside of the fort." * * *

The second disappointment awaited Mr. Wyeth at Fort Vancouver, which place he reached on Sept. 14. Here he met Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor, of whom he speaks in these words:

"He has here power and uses it as a man should to make those about him and those who come in contact with him comfortable and happy."

The following morning he proceeded down the river in a canoe and met his brig, the May Dacre. She had been struck by lightning and delayed so long making repairs that salmon operations for that

year had to be suspended. In fact the entire project was one disappointment after another, and finally all had to be abandoned. Writing to his brother Charles, under date of Sept. 28, 1835, he said:

"I am too busy and too unwell to write much even to you. It some times appears to me that the nearer a person is to whom I write the less competent is the mood to the ideas I would wish to express. However this may be one thing I know. That to my best friends I always write the shortest letters, in fact I had nearly written you as short an epistle as Cæsar's to the senate, viz, 'I am sick dead and buried' and yet I am not 'the Scipper' but the last principle of human life is not extinct. Hope still maintains her throne and throws the mists of futurity over the deformities and misfortunes that she cannot hide.

"Our salmon fishing has not succeeded. Half a cargo only obtained. Our people are sick and dying off like rotten sheep of bilious disorder. I shall be off by the first of next month to the mountains and winter at Fort Hall."

In other letters he told of the loss of more than half of his company, about 19 by sickness, others by drowning and others at the hands of the Indians. His indomitable energy could not save the business, though it won for him the admiration, not only of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, but that of every traveler and writer of the period. Through his long series of misfortunes, there was none to impeach either his integrity or judgment. Many of his letters were pathetic in the extreme and portrayed a character well intended to appeal to human affection. He left his post at the mouth of the Willamette in charge of Mr. C. M. Walker and sold Fort Hall to the Hudson's Bay Company. "The business I am in must be closed," he wrote, "not that it might not be made a good one, but that those who are now engaged in it are not the men to make it so. The smallest loss make them 'fly the handle' and such men can rarely succeed in a new business." He returned to his old home in the fall of 1836, where he re-engaged in the ice business with great success and retained until his death the confidence and respect of all who knew him. Such was the man who first unfurled the flag of freedom in the state of Idaho, and under whose protection came the first teacher of the Christian faith.

While business competition was never allowed to interfere with the life long attachment formed with the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, they could not, of course, aid him in his plans to take

away their well established business, therefore another sequel is to be recorded. When Mr. Wyeth left Fort Hall, after the flag episode heretofore related, he crossed the Snake at the Indian ford four miles below the fort and followed the trail through the Soldier country, and the Boise river to its mouth where he recrossed. He arrived at Fort Walla Walla on Sept. 2, two days behind the party with whom the missionaries had traveled from Fort Hall. In his journal of that date he noted, "Mr. McKay for some reason remained in the mountains."

This reason is better explained when we trace the doings of that wary denizen of the forest, who, with a suitable crew at his command, halted on Boise river, at a point about three miles southwest of the present town of Notus, and about 10 miles from the mouth of the river, where he commenced the erection of an establishment that afterwards became known as Fort Boise, the fourth station on the Oregon Trail. That the movements of Mr. McKay were not made known to the Americans is evidenced by the fact that they were not mentioned by any one at the time save the above quotation. However, when Mrs. Whitman, the first American woman to look upon the waters of the Columbia, arrived there on August 19, 1836, she noted in her journal the following:

"Arrived at Snake Fort about noon. It is situated on Bigwood river, so called because the timber is larger than any to be seen this side of the mountains. It consists chiefly of cottonwood and is small compared with timber in the states. Snake Fort is owned and was built by Mr. Thomas McKay, one of our company, whom we expect to leave here. He, with Mr. McLeod, gave us a hearty welcome; dined with them." * * *

(Boise river was first known as Reed's River, after the name of a member of the Hunt party who was killed on the South Fork in 1812. Wood river appears to correspond with the word Boise in the French, and the river took that name after the establishment of the fort.)

When Mr. Farnham, of the "Peoria Party" came through the country in 1839, he found the fort had been moved to the bank of the Snake, and Mr. Payette engaged in building the adobe walls which were then about completed. The point where it was located appears to have been about two miles below where the Boise at that time joined the Snake river. In the 60's the channel of the Boise changed and flowed into the larger stream at a point about 200 feet south of the fort. In 1853, according to the journal of Mr.

Theodore Winthrop, the buildings were destroyed by high water, but immediately rebuilt. The walls were standing yet in the 60's during the early mining excitement, but at the present time the site is in the middle of the Snake river, the channel having encroached upon the land to that extent.

That Mr. McKay established a fort on the Boise to protect their trade, as far as posible, against the encroachment of the Americans on the east, there can be no doubt, and after Mr. Wyeth delivered to the Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Hall, the supremacy of that organization was well nigh complete. He had "rolled a stone in the garden of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company that they had some difficulty in getting out." Both Fort Hall and Fort Boise were famous landmarks on the Oregon trail and volumes could be written of each. After Hudson's Bay Company took over the former, adobe walls were substituted for the timbers used by Mr. Wyeth, and they were kept whitewashed as were those of Fort Boise. Their white battlements could be seen for many miles in either direction, and the number of pioneers, who preserved in memory the most kindly feelings for these establishments, and the most hospitable treatment accorded them by the men in charge, would number, perhaps, not less than 200,000.

Had Fort Hall not been built, it is altogether likely that Fort Boise would not have existed. What effect that would have had on American occupation of old Oregon is difficult to fathom. Without the building of Fort Hall it is hard to conceive how the emigrants could have reached the Columbia in time to hold the national boundary as far north as the forty-ninth parallel. Other means might have been adopted, but of this we cannot even speculate. It is enough to know that their building, and the willingness of their officers to assist American pioneers to the extent of their ability, was of inestimable value to our government in the acquisition of a disputed territory. It will be, in time to come, a matter of great regret that sectarian controversies, growing out of the Whitman masscre at Walla Walla, have been allowed to impair our feeling of appreciation for the uniform kindness accorded our countrymen by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who were, measured by any standard desired, the peer of the best of us.

From 1836, the year that the Oregon Trail began to attract public attention, and for 24 years thereafter, during which time it was, in many respects, the greatest highway in all the world, Fort Hall was the second outfitting station west of the Missouri river.

Fort Bridger was established in 1843, but it was located out of the line of travel to the Columbia and in latter years the pioneers depended on Forts Hall and Boise. The distance from Independence, Mo., to Fort Laramie was 667 miles; to Fort Hall, 1,288 miles; to Fort Boise, 1,585 miles; to Fort Walla Walla, 1,835 miles and to Fort Vancouver, 2,020 miles. Over the last four the British flag, with the letters, H. B. C. woven in the folds (said by American trappers to mean, "Here Before Christ") was suspended as the symbol of authority until 1855. The boundary was fixed in 1846 but the possessory right of the Hudson's Bay Company was not settled for until the late 60's, when they were awarded $650,000 for their holdings.

When the Indian wars of 1855-6 broke out, Fort Walla Walla fell in October of that year, at the hands of that noted chief, Peu-peu-mox-mox. Messengers were sent to Fort Boise and Fort Hall to warn them that their base of supplies had fallen into the hands of the Indians and to abandon the country. During that winter the stores of both forts were moved to the Flathead post, north of Missoula, Mont., which continued to do business until 1872. United States troops occupied Fort Hall for a time but during the Civil war they were moved over to Lincoln creek and its glory was at an end. When the stage line was established between Salt Lake and the mining districts of Montana, a station was located three miles south of the fort and many of the sun dried brick of its walls were taken there and used in those buildings. In 1852, a pioneer noted in his journal that more than 100 army wagons stood around the fort rotting down.

Not long since the writer made a pilgrimage to the site of the old fort. At the crossing of the stream where the stage station once stood, he found a monument lying in the grass, having fallen from its base. There was no inscription to indicate for what purpose the same had been placed there, or by whom. The country on the east side of the river is included in the Fort Hall Indian reservation and, there being not a house in the valley, the landscape may be presumed to be the same as it was on the day that Jason Lee preached his sermon. The grove is still there and it seemed an easy matter to locate the place where he stood, though of course this was a matter of interesting conjecture.

The outlines of the fort are as plain as when the structure stood. Even the well on the inside, near the southwest corner of the inclosure, is still about eight feet deep, and the position of

the bastions, the gates and the quarters are plainly discernible. They were hidden, however, by a growth of tall grass reaching to one's shoulders. The old trail marks and camping places are easily located, but our two Indian guides were unable to give us any information as to the location of the burial grounds where sleep so many of our pioneers. The solitude of the place could have been no more impressive the day that Mr. Wyeth shot the buffalo, when the nearest settlement was Fort Bellevue on the Missouri river, than it was on that July day last summer when the writer visited the historic spot.

To the south the railroad trains could be seen bearing the burdens of a mighty commerce and, likewise, garnering for their owners a revenue sufficient, we trust, for the services rendered; cities have sprung up as by magic, and a busy and prosperous people are now reaping the harvest sown by those who have gone before. But the historic ground where Wyeth unfurled the flag in Idaho, and where Jason Lee delivered the message, and where stood the post that succored the tired and halting pioneers who won and left us our heritage, and made it possible for railroads to build, and cities to grow and fortunes to accumulate, is forgotten and seen no more. It seems a heartless fate, yet but another illustration of the "survival of the fittest," a shadow that follows us all.

MILES CANNON.

MINING IN ALASKA BEFORE 1867

It has generally been assumed that the Russians in Alaska were either indifferent or ignorant of the mineral resources of that territory. That they were not indifferent may be proved from the fact that the desire to find precious metals was one of the reasons why Peter the Great sent out voyages of discovery. The men who followed Bering to America made careful inquiries of the natives as to the existence of metals and minerals on their islands. When the Russian American Company was organized in 1799 it demanded the exclusive right to all the underground riches of Alaska. One may with equal ease refute the charge of ignorance. At the time of the transfer of the territory to the United States gold had been discovered, native copper found, and coal mines opened. Graphite was known to exist on Atka Island, red ochre on Krenitizin, black obsidian and porphyry on Umnak, naptha and amber on the Alaska Peninsula. Copper had been located on Unalaska, Copper Island, Cook Inlet, and the Copper River. Each year the natives came down that stream and sold quantities of that metal to the Russians, but would not show them the place it came from. In the same manner the natives of Cook Inlet offered mica to the traders but refused to disclose the source of the supply. The knowledge of the mineral resources was not wholly derived from the natives. Reliable information was obtained from the writings of Father Veinaminov, from the accounts of the more intelligent of the naval officers, from the bulletins of the agents of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, especially that of Vosnosenski, who stayed five years (1840-1845) in the Northwest making a natural history collection, and from the special reports of the scientists and mining engineers, such as H. J. Holmberg, who made a mineral survey of Kodiak., Peter Doroshin who spent five years in prospecting for gold and coal, and Ialmar Furuhelm who came out to Alaska in 1850 or 1851 and remained ten years in the employ of the company prospecting and superintending the mine on Kenai. The question one naturally asks: if the company knew so much about the mining possibilities of Alaska why was so little done in developing the industry? The answer is that it was too much occupied with the fur trade.

The gradual extermination of the sea-otter and the discovery of gold in California were two factors that greatly influenced the company to give serious attention to mining. In 1848 (1849) it sent out to Alaska Peter Doroshin, a mining engineer, or geognost as he

was then called. He reached Cook Inlet late that year but not too late to wash out a few pans of sand and find a few colors. He took up the work in 1850 and commenced prospecting in earnest on the Kenai Peninsula, near the mouth of the Kaknu River. He had, all told, twelve men to assist him, and the number of working days for that season were not more than forty-nine; so that under the circumstances he could not have been expected to accomplish a great deal. He reported that everywhere he dug he found colors. He returned in 1851 with the intention of going up the Kaknu and two other streams for the purpose of tracing the deposits to their source. Although he put in sixty-six days, in his investigations he could not reach the mountains where he hoped to locate the mineral veins. In his report he states that the farther up he went the larger were the grains of gold but nowhere was it in paying quantities. He should have liked to continue his researches for another year or two had the company been willing.

The following year, 1852, Doroshin was set to work to look for coal. During that summer he explored a large part of the territory and located many of the mines known today. He shipped the specimens which he dug out to the Mining Department of St. Petersburg where they were analyzed. The first coal vein examined was at Port Graham, Kenai. It was an eight foot vein and the samples analyzed:

Volatile matter	45.87
Fixed Carbon	42.91
Ash	12.22
Coke	45.13
Heat units[1]	4,294.

On the way from Port Graham to Kachemak he inspected several beds of lignite and passed them by as of little value. But on the northwestern part of Kachemak Bay he found coal which seemed promising. It analyzed:

Volatile matter	48.53
Fixed Carbon	38.91
Ash	12.55
Coke	51.47
Heat Units	4,131.

From Kachemak he sailed north along the eastern shore of the Inlet to its head, crossing the mouths of the streams but not entering them, thence down the western shore as far as Kamishak Bay.

1Probably calories.

Here he left the boat and struck out over the mountains to Lake Iliamina, making notes on the geologic formation of the country as he went along. On the lake there was a boat to take him down the Kvichak River and some distance into the bay of that name and from there up the Naknek River and lakes and the Mishket[2] River to the rapids. At this point he left his boatmen and crossed over the mountains and came to Katmai. In taking the route he did Doroshin was prevented from examining the coal in Kanikagluk[2] Bay (Kukak?), east of Katmai. He, therefore, sent men thither for samples which, when analyzed, gave this result:

Volatile matter	34.45
Fixed carbon	52.44
Ash	13.11
Coke	65.55
Heat Units	5,774.

He was quite enthusiastic about this coal which he regarded as the best in the territory.

Continuing his investigations along the peninsula, Doroshin observed many veins of coal and lignite of minor importance. In one place, probably in the region of Chignak, he discovered naptha and, what he believed to be natural gas, but he was not certain. He spent some little time at Unga inspecting the coal deposits on that island and concluded that they were not worthy of development because of the poor quality, the high cost of mining, and danger in transportation owing to the large amount of pyrites in the coal. He had planned to go to Port Moller but was prevented because of lack of time. He did the next best thing and sent for specimens. Doroshin himself sailed down to Pavlof Bay and from there returned to Unga. Here he took ship going for Sitka and landed at this place about the middle of October, 1852. The samples from Port Moller, taken from two different veins, analyzed as follows:

Volatile matter	61.57
Fixed carbon	37.18
Ash	1.25
Heat Units	4,472
and	
Volatile matter	50.73
Fixed carbon	39.74
Ash	9.53
Heat Units	4,443.

[2]The names of places have changed considerably since Doroshin's day and it is rather difficult to identify them.

On making inquiries he was told that there was coal on Tigalda Island and on Norton Sound but he was unable to obtain samples from either of these places. From one of the ships in search of Franklin he secured a few chunks of coal which were taken from a vein in the neighborhood of Cape Lisburne. He also had sent to him specimens from Korovin Bay, Atka, which showed on analysis that it contained:

Volatile matter	52.41
Fixed carbon	45.28
Ash	2.53
Heat units	4,893.

In the region of Sitka Doroshin also made investigations and located several small veins of coal. He had analyzed the coal from Kotznahoo Inlet, Chatham Strait, and got encouraging results.

Volatile matter	38.08
Fixed carbon	50.73
Ash	11.19
Heat units	4,800.

He was of the opinion that a better grade and thicker veins of coal were to be found in southeastern Alaska, judging by the Canadian product. He made a special trip to inspect the mine in Winterhausen Bay (Winter Harbor?), Vancouver and the samples which he brought back analyzed:

Volatile matter	38.67
Fixed carbon	44.00
Ash	17.03
Heat units	5,009.

Doroshin returned to Russia towards the end of 1854 or early in 1853.[3] He at once submitted his report to the company and urged upon it to develop the coal beds at Port Graham. On the strength of this recommendation, coupled with the demand for coal in San Francisco, the company decided to venture into the coal mining industry. Work was begun in 1855, a pump was put in in 1857, the buildings were completed in 1858, and by 1859 there was a tunnel seventy feet long. In 1860 a fire wiped out the whole plant and ruined the machinery.

After five years of trial the company found that it had lost money. There were many reasons for the failure. The company was

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[3]Doroshin laid his specimens before Professor Heppert of Breslau, who said that the coal from Cook Inlet belonged to the miocene formation of the tertiary period.

working with the view of obtaining immediate returns and not of developing a mining property. By 1860 it had not yet touched the principal vein of coal. Then again the company did not employ skilled miners nor make use of the best machinery. The men who worked in the mines were Siberian soldiers on garrison duty in Alaska. They were independent, worked or idled as they pleased. They knew nothing about mining when they came to Alaska and by the time they had learned something their term of military service, five or seven years, had expired and they departed. They were paid by the day and not by the ton and as a consequence they wasted much time. It was figured out that at one time the mine had on its pay roll 131 men and the daily output was from 30 to 35 tons. When the coal had been mined it was not sorted but all dumped together in the open.

The officers of the company on the spot were in doubt as to the real value of the coal. Some thought it was worthless and others, like the engineer, Fraser, on the steamer Alexander II., were of the opinion that for steaming purposes 10 tons of Kenai was equal to 7 tons of English coal; and if the Alaska coal were sorted 10 tons would equal 8 tons of English. The only markets available at that time were San Francisco and Hong Kong. Five hundred tons were shipped to California and were there sold for six kopeks the prood, or about $1.75 a ton. At this selling price the company was losing heavily, for it cost much more than that just to mine the coal. During the years 1857-1860, the annual output of the mine was about 920 tons, at an actual cost in wages, not counting the outlay on the investment, buildings, ships, office expenses, etc., of 38,480 rubles, or a little more than 41 rubles (assignats) per ton, equivalent to about $15 (?) of American money. At that time, 1860-63, at Hong Kong Japanese coal was selling for $5, Sidney coal for $8 and English coal for $15 the ton. Kenai coal could not compete on such terms.

After the buildings had burned down the company was in doubt as to how to proceed in the future. Ialmar Furuhelm came out from Alaska in 1862 to report on the situation. After several conferences with the directors of the company Furuhelm offered to lease the mine, provided he were allowed a free hand in every way. An agreement was soon rached, according to which Furuhelm was given exclusive control for seven years, from the day of signing the contract, over all the underground resources of Alaska, the right to sell his metals and to buy his machinery and goods where he pleased without paying duty of any kind, to cut whatever timber he needed, to make use of the streams, to carry the flag of the company on his ships, to hire his

workmen wherever he liked. In short neither the company nor the government could interfere with him in any way. In return he bound himself to pay the company, beginning with the second year, five per cent of the exported product, and this sum to be increased each year by one per cent. At the end of seven years the mines and all underground improvements were to revert to the company without compensation, and the buildings, machinery, ship,s etc., if Furuhelm should decide to sell them, the company promised to buy at a price to be mutually agreed. This arrangement was concluded early in 1863 but it was not put into force because at that time it was uncertain whether the company would have its charter renewed.

The discovery of gold in Oregon and British Columbia raised the question whether this metal might not also be found in Alaska. In 1863 the Russian minister in Washington called his government's attention to that fact. That same year there was a rumor that gold had been found on the Stikine River, and the company's officers became excited and, fearing a stampede of American miners, appealed to the government for a man-of-war. In 1865 the Russian minister wrote again to St. Petersburg reporting a conversation with Professor Whitney, geologist of California, who assured him that there must certainly be gold in Alaska because the geologic coast formation of that territory is the same as that of other parts of the Northwest where gold had been discovered. Whitney was willing to go to Alaska to investigate and the minister urged that he be commissioned to do so. The following year, 1866, it was reported in the Russian papers that some men in Sitka while digging a hole for a telegraph post accidentally found gold. The Russian government, however, had decided long before this to get rid of Alaska, partly because it had become an economic burden and partly for fear should gold be discovered in large quantities the American miners would rush in faster than they could be kept out and this situation might bring about bad feeling between the United States and Russia. These were some of the reasons why Alaska was sold and why all the mining propositions died an untimely death.

If the plans of Furuhelm had been allowed to work out and if Whitney had been sent to investigate, perhaps the mineral resources of Alaska would have been heard of long before they actually were.

F. A. Golder.

DOCUMENTS

Diary of Colonel and Mrs. I. N. Ebey

Introduction

Whidby Island has always figured in the history of the Puget Sound country. It was known to the Spanish explorers prior to 1792, who set it down on their maps as a part of the mainland. It was named by Captain George Vancouver of the British navy, June 10, 1792, in honor of Joseph Whidbey, master of the Discovery, who in a small boat discovered Deception Pass and proved the existence there of a large island. Port Townsend, New Dungeness, Port Orcard, Point Wilson, Deception Passage, Bellingham Bay, Port Gardner, Possession Sound, Vashon Island, Mounts Rainier and Baker, and many other names, were introduced at this time. Between the years 1792 and 1824 very little historical activity took place in these waters. In the latter year the Hudson's Bay Company sent out an expedition from Fort Vancouver to seek a likely site for a new post, with the result that Fort Langley on the Fraser river was erected in 1827. Fort Nisqually, a post midway between Forts Langley and Vancouver, was erected in 1833. These forts were intended solely as fur-trading posts, but as fur-bearing animals in this region proved not numerous, the Company decided to embark upon an agricultural form of enterprice as a side line, which the growing markets of Russian America and Hawaii made profitable. Whidbey island is possessed of some 6,000 acres of rich prairie land adjacent to what is now the town of Coupeville, and upon this land the Company as early as 1834 had their eyes, as a probable site for an extensive farm. One event after another delayed them and the project was abandoned. The forties witnessed the coming of many immigrants, and one of them, Thomas Glasgow, in 1848, selected a claim on this prairie, built a cabin, planted potatoes, and is said to have gone so far as to locate a mill site, probably at the head of Penn Cove, at Coveland where a natural pocket reservoir makes possible the storage of tidewater. About this time Patkanim, chief of the Snoqualmie Indians, was making preparations to drive out the whites and Glasgow was forced to give up his intended home and return to Tumwater. There is a tradition that the Hudson's Bay Company played some part in Glasgow's ejection, but this is not definitely known. No further attempt at settlement was made until the arrival of Isaac N. Ebey, in 1850.

Isaac Neff Ebey was born in Franklin county, Ohio, January 21, 1818, son of Jacob and Sarah (Blue) Ebey. The father, Jacob Ebey, was born in Pennsylvania, October 22, 1793. He served in the war of 1812 under General William Henry Harrison and later commanded a company in the Black Hawk war in the same battalion with Abraham Lincoln. He had already migrated to Illinois (1832), and later went to Adair (now Schuyler) county, Missouri. There were at least five children: Isaac Neff, Winfield Scott, Mary, Ruth, and Jacob, Jr., who became a missionary and died in some bleak country from privations about 1848.

Isaac Neff Ebey appears to have been educated for the law—a profession easier to qualify for in his day than in ours—but it is doubtful if he practiced much. The wife of his choice was Rebecca Whitby Davis, born in Washington county, Virginia, December 28, 1822, daughter of James and Harriet (?) Davis, whom he married October 3, 1843. In Missouri two sons were born to them: Eason Benton, July 22, 1844, and Jacob Ellison, October 17, 1846.

In a letter to Winfield he says that his marriage was the means of his settling down, but just how much "settling down" he did before his removal to Whidbey island is not known, but it could not have been much, for in less than four years after his marriage we find him in an emigrant train bound across the plains for Oregon where he hoped to carve out a home for the Ebeys and the Davises. By the time he had reached Oregon gold was being discovered in California, and thither he directed his steps, being lured on by the prospect of gaining a competence by a sudden turn of fortune. He is said to have been moderately successful there, but not sufficiently so to warrant a long stay. In the fall of 1849 he made his way to San Francisco, and there, in company with B. F. Shaw, Edmund Slyvester, S. Jackson and a man named Moore, he purchased the brig Orbit as a means of transporting himself and party to the Sound country, of which he had heard so much. The vessel arrived at Tumwater or New Market, in January, 1850, and was sold to Michael T. Simmons. A new settlement was in the process of formation on Budd inlet and Mr. Ebey is said to have been the one who suggested its name—Olympia. He acquired some property there, probably more as an investment than for a permanent home. During the following spring and summer he made a tour of exploration about the Sound for the purpose of securing an ideal farm site. He made extensive examination of the Duwamish, White and Puyallup river valleys. He introduced the name Duwamish river, spelled by him

"Dwams," and paddled for several hours on Lake Washington, which he christened "Lake Geneva." He appears to have been favorably impressed with the country where Seattle and Tacoma were later established, but decided that the land on Whidbey island offered the greatest immediate returns, and, accordingly, took up a claim under the Oregon Donation Land Law on the same land which the Hudson's Bay Company had once coveted and from which Glasgow had been ejected, filing on the same, October 15, 1850. Here he built a cabin, "batched it," put in some crops without the aid of horses or cattle, and made preparations to bring his wife, children, and the Davis and Ebey families to the new home. His letters, addressed to his brother Winfield, under whose special care his family were, indicate him to be a man of much sentiment and tenderness. In one letter bearing the date of April 25, 1851, he writes: "I scarcely know how I shall write or what I shall write. When I think of home, of father, and mother, sisters and brother, wife, children, and friends, my heart sinks within me; I can scarce find words to clothe my ideas, it seems so like writing to the dead, like addressing language to those who have passed the pale of mortality and gone to that 'bourne from whence no traveler returns.'"

Mrs. Ebey, with Eason and Ellison, in company with the Crockett family, had joined an emigrant train of 1851, and arrived in Olympia during the winter of 1851-52. Possibly Thomas Davis, a brother of Mrs. Ebey, came with them. At any rate, he is on the island with them in June, 1852. In March, 1852, the new arrivals were transported in a scow to the island where we find them at the time the diary commences. Between the settlement by Mr. Ebey and the arrival of his family there were already several other families securely settled. On February 10, 1851, Dr. Richard H. Lansdale took his first claim at Oak Harbor, and during that following summer assisted William Wallace to bring his family to a claim on Crescent Harbor, a name bestowed by Dr. Lansdale because of its shape. It is likely that Dr. Lansdale introduced the name Oak Harbor as well, because of the oak groves in the vicinity. Dr. Lansdale was joined during this year, 1851, by Martin Taftson, Clement W. Sumner and Ulric Friend.

From the time of his arrival on Puget Sound until his death Mr. Ebey was engaged in some form of public service, in which capacity he had the confidence of both those he represented and his superiors. He served as representative from Lewis (which then included Island) county, and drafted the memorial petitioning Congress to create a

new territory north of the Columbia river; became deputy collector of customs and later collector for the Puget Sound district; participated in the libelling of the Hudson's Bay Company's ships Beaver and Mary Dare for evading the customs laws; took an active part in the San Juan dispute; raised a company of volunteers for service in the Indian war which he commanded, in recognition of which service he was brevetted colonel. All this is a matter of public record, though only casual mention of these services can be made here.

The happy reunion of the families was hardly effected when a cruel fate commenced dissolution. Mrs. Harriet Davis, mother of Mrs. Rebecca Ebey, died on the plains during the migration of 1852-53. Mrs. Rebecca Ebey gave birth to a daughter, Sarah Harriet, May 26, 1853, and her health, never robust, gave way after this event, and she died, September 29, 1853. The young child was taken into the home of Mrs. Doyle, and died on February 21, 1861. Mr. Ebey married as his second wife a Mrs. Sconce, with one child. Thomas Davis, brother of Mrs. Rebecca Ebey, took up a claim, but never married. James was demented. George W. Ebey, a cousin of Isaac N. Ebey, and other cousins named Royal, came out in 1853. In 1854 seven Ebeys came to the island, including Isaac N. Ebey's father, Jacob, who died in February, 1862; his mother, Sarah Blue Ebey, who died in 1859; his brother, Winfield Scott Ebey, a refined but delicate man, who took up a claim and became a farmer; he kept an extensive diary until his death (of consumption) on February 21, 1865, at Petaluma, Cal., the remains being brought for burial in the cemetery near Coupeville. His sister, Ruth Ebey, who was deaf and dumb, and who met death by accident, falling from a bluff near San de Fuca, whither she had gone to gather berries; his sister, Mary Ebey, who had married a Mr. Wright, and her two children, Polk and Almira. Polk grew to manhood on the island and left for California. Almira married (1) George Beam, who came out with their party and who died on May 5, 1866; (2) a Mr. Enos. She came into possession of the extensive Ebey manuscripts. At her death the manuscripts and several cabinets filled with historical relics passed into the possession of her daughter, Mrs. John Allan Park, Hayward, California. Mrs. Wright had married as her second husband Urban E. Bozarth, who died on February 4, 1870. Mrs. Bozarth died on June 2, 1879.

Colonel Isaac N. Ebey was killed by northern Indians on one of their incursions into the Sound region to avenge the death of a chief who the year before was shot by the whites at Port Gamble.

According to their religion, a white chief must propitiate for the death of their chief. Colonel Ebey answered very nicely their conception of a white chief and became a marked man. On the day previous to his death the colonel, in company with Major Corliss, was out hunting and had stopped to take supper at the home of Mrs. Kineth near Sneightlem or Watsak point. At the time of the tragedy Major and Mrs. Corliss were guests at the Ebey home. During the day the Indians were encamped upon the beach at Ebey's Landing and made several visits to the house, ostensibly to borrow articles, but probably to acquaint themselves with the lay of the ground, plan of the house, etc. On one of these visits they inquired of Thomas Pier Hastie, who was working in the harvest field, for Mr. Ebey, if the colonel were a "tyee" or chief, and upon being answered in the affirmative, retired to the beach, well satisfied. Mrs. Corliss suspected evil intentions on the part of the Indians, and confided her views to the colonel, but he paid little attention to her, and said that all Indians were alike to him. The inmates retired rather late that evening. During the night a sharp pounding upon the door was commenced and the colonel arose, stepped out, and inquired what was wanted. Receiving no answer, he ventured further, when a shot was fired, which struck him in the head, leaving him in a dazed condition, so that he was unable to regain the entrance. In this dazed condition he wandered around the house. His wife heard him fall heavily against a window, which she unfastened, and shouted for him to climb in, but he was evidently too severely wounded to understand. The Indians pounced upon him and severed the head from the body in a manner indicating the expert work of head-hunters. The adult inmates of the house made for the Hill home, but the children in the excitement separated from them, ran to the woods nearby, where they were found with difficulty. Mrs. Corliss was severely hurt in climbing a fence during her flight. Mrs. Ebey's little girl suffered much from fright, and some say she never fully recovered. After the colonel's death Mrs. Ebey left the island.

Eason Benton Ebey attended the Territorial University of Washington. He married Annie Louise Judson, daughter of Holden A. and Phoebe (Newton) Judson, February 19, 1867, and took his wife to the Ebey farm and there lived until his death. Their children are: Effie Bell, now Mrs. Victor A. Roeder of Bellingham; Henrietta M., now Mrs. J. K. Robinson of Bellingham; Allan Ellison of San Francisco; and Roy L. of San Francisco. Jacob Ellison Ebey, never very robust, spent most of his adult years as a clerk in Major

Haller's store at Coupeville. He married a widow, Mrs. Mary Farker Van Wermer; their one child, Harold Ebey, lives in Oakland, California.

Allan Ellison Ebey loaned the original manuscript of his grandparents' diary long enough to have it copied and from that copy the document is here reproduced. In editing the diary, original sources have been used such as manuscrips by and personal interviews with Mrs. Phoebe N. Judson, Mrs. Jane Kineth, Thomas Pier Hastie, Samuel D. Crockett, Charles T. Terry, Mrs. Flora A. P. Engle and others. Those mentioned are pioneers familiar with early Whidby Island history. The manuscripts mentioned are in the Meany Collection, University of Washington Library, Seattle.

VICTOR J. FARRAR.

Towanacos June 1st 1852.

Morning very pleasant and calm, a Schooner seen this morneing comeing down on the tide. Suposed to be the H. B. C.[1] vessel from Nesqually— Sawing and Spliting board and paleing timber. Capt Hathaway[2] called to day on his way to Capt Bells.[3] Vessel still in sight this evening— very calm and a little cloudy—

1The Hudson's Bay Company.

2Captain Eli Hathaway was a widower from New England. He had two twin daughters, Josephine and Imogen, but they did not settle on the island. Josephine married a man named Brown of Olympia, and Imogen a man named Simonson of Seattle. Both are now dead, and neither left any heirs. Captain Hathaway took up a claim near Oak Harbor, where he lived with an Indian woman and by her had one son, George, who now resides on the island. The Captain became well known as sheriff and assessor. He was buried on his own claim.

3Captain George Bell was a romantic sea captain without family or connections and remained only a short time on the island. He built a cabin near the head of the cove, but took no claim, and spent most of his time in the employ of the Ebey family. He left shortly for the sea. See **post,** note 32.

4In the fall of 1851 the mate of the sloop Georginia exhibited gold nuggets procured by him from Queen Charlotte's island, and due to the excitement which followed the Georginia was chartered to take a Puget Sound party thither. Before reaching her destination she was wrecked and her party taken captive and held for ransom by Haidah Indians. To expedite the payment of the ransom the Indians permitted a small party to proceed to Port Simpson, but small relief was there afforded, for Captain McNeil, in charge, looked askance on a party of Americans who had the temerity to invade Hudson's Bay Company's territory. Fortunately for the gold-seekers, Captain Lafayette Balch, of the Demaris Cove, had boarded the Georginia while on her voyage north, and had promised to follow as soon as he could meet the collector of customs, Simpson P. Moses, who was on the George Emory, nearby. This done, Balch sailed to Queen Charlotte island, but hearing from other Indians of the fate of the Georginia, hastened to notify Collector Moses of that fact. Moses failed to get the required aid at Nisqually, another Hudson's Bay Company's post, and as the lives of the captives were in danger, he decided to perform a daring act. He chartered the Demaris Cove in the name of the government, fitted her out as a relief ship with soldiers from Fort Steilacoom, and issued a letter of credit on Victoria and Fort Simpson for the purpose of the necessary ransom presents. The expedition was successful, although the government failed to sanction the act and congress had to be memoralized to secure an appropriation for the expense. Two persons mentioned in the diary—Daniel Show and Samuel D. Howe—were among the captured.

June 2

Morneing cloudy, calm and warm a vessel in sight this morneing off the Straits Received intelligence this morning, of the arrival of the Schooner Damescore[4] at Port Townsend last evening in carage of Capt. Hathaway. Evening clear and pleasant The vessel which we saw in the Straits this morning has passed on up the Sound to day. All hands very tired; Work at board timber & other employments.—Hired some Indians to day to day to weed our onions the second time which are very foul. Afternoon light wind west.

3

Morning very pleasant and clear light wind west— examined a road to my cedar timber and weeding onions a brig in the Straits comeing on up with a fare wind, droped anchor at Port Townsend She provved to be the Sch "Mary Taylor,"[5] Mr Dray[6] comes over this Evening on his way to Port Townsend Mr Howe[7] and Holbrooks[8] called in

4th

Morneing very foggy Mr Crockett[9] raised his house to day day

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[5]The schooner Mary Taylor was the first pilot boat on the Columbia river, but had been sold to Hastings, January 16, 1852, and placed on the run between Puget Sound and Portland.

[6]Identity not ascertained. He left for San Francisco soon after his arrival on the island. All portions of the Sound were being visited by hundreds of persons who were looking for homes. Some were content, but the majority left for other parts of the country. Whidbey island, despite its rich prairie land, failed to attract some persons because they did not care to locate on an island.

[7]Samuel D. Howe was one of the survivors of the ill-fated Georginia (see **ante,** note 4) and had just come to the island, where he took a claim. He held offices as county commissioner and territorial legislator, and in the Indian war became captain of Company I of the Northern Batallion. At its conclusion he with others made a treaty with several bands of Nez Perce Indians. He married a daughter of Captain Henry Swift.

[8]Richard Blackmer Holbrook was born at Plymouth, Mass., August 7, 1821, son of Richard and Nancy (?) Holbrook. He came to California during the gold rush of 1849, but remained only a short time, when he made for Puget Sound, where he took a donation land claim. While in the east he had made the acquaintance of Harriet P. Low, of Deer Island, Maine, born June 12, 1839, daughter of Nathan and Harriet (Tyler) Low. She came across the isthums of Panama to Puget Sound to become his bride. Five children were born to them: Nathan, Josephine, Horace, Mary Frances, and Richard B. Mr. Holbrook served two terms in the territorial legislature in the early sixties. He died in 1893. Mrs. Holbrook is still living at Coupeville.

[9]Colonel Walter Crockett, the progenitor of the family, was born at Shawsville, Va., January 29, 1786, son of Colonel Hugh Crockett, who fought in the Revolutionary war, and Rebecca Larton, of Holland descent, born in Jersey City. Colonel Walter C. fought in the war of 1812 under Captain and afterwards Governor Floyd of Virginia, and earned the distinction which made possible his election to the Virginia legislature for three terms. He married Mrs. Mary Black Ross, daughter of John Black, founder of Blacksburg, Virginia. Despite his personal successes in Virginia, he decided that his family would have a better chance in a new country, and accordingly moved west in 1838. He made two attempts at settlement in Missouri—in Boone and Putnam counties—but was not satisfied, and decided to try Oregon. His family prior to the exodus to Oregon consisted of Samuel B., born February 14, 1820; Charles, born June 14, 1821; Susanna H., born December 27, 1823; John, born August 27, 1826 (who had married Ann Crockett, a distant relative and namesake, born near Monticello, Kentucky, April 3, 1831, and had a son, Samuel D., born at

pleasant Mr Dray returned this Evening from Port Townsend Maj. Show[10] this Evening.

Saturday 5

Morneing Clear and pleasant working at my board timber day verry hot with a light west breeze, I think the is a vessel in sight this evening in the Straits— Dr Lansdale[11] over to see me this Evening—

Sunday 6

Morneing very pleasant— continued at home all day wrote seevral letters. Square rigged Brig came up this evening— day very pleasant.

Monday 7"

Weeding onions in the forenoon afternoon went over to Dr Lansdale to the Election a vessel seen going on up to day— Mr White and two other gentlemen came over to day from Port Townsend

Tuseday 8th

Day to windy to raft timber, working in the gardin all day— Wind this evening blowing quite hard and cool—

Centerville, Iowa, June 23, 1850); Hugh, born September 21, 1829; and Walter, Jr., born September 26, 1833. Samuel had started across the plains in 1844 to find out what inducements the new country offered, and arrived just in time to join the first migration led to the Puget Sound country, and with Michael T. Simmons and others settled near Tumwater in October, 1845. He wrote to his father in glowing terms of the new country, and the colonel with the remainder of family, in a party with Mrs. Ebey, Eason and Ellison, and possibly Thomas Davis, crossed the plains and arrived at Olympia during the winter of 1851-52. They came to the island in March, 1852. Here the colonel, John, Sam, Hugh and Charles took claims. Colonel Crockett died November 25, 1864. Samuel B. Crockett married Matilda Loyd. He died at Kent, Washington, November 27, 1903. He had no children. Charles never married. He died December 12, 1893. Susana marrid Samuel Hancock. She died January 8, 1901. She had no children but adopted a child. John had ten children: Samuel, who came across the plains; William, Sarah Frances, Susan Mary, Georgia Ann, Emma, Elizabeth Ellen, Jane de Vane, John Harvey, and Margaret. Hugh married Mrs. R. J. Bond, formerly Rachael Gook, but had no children. Walter, Jr., did not marry. He died August 19, 1903.

[10]Daniel Show had been one of the gold seekers on the ill-fated Georginia and was now satisfied to take up a claim and lead a peaceful life. He was not a major, that soubriquet having been bestowed upon him because of his affections and "big talk." He gave advice on all subjects and pretended to practice medicine, but with all his shortcomings he was keen as a money getter, and the best horse trader on the Sound. He took up a claim which overlapped the claim of the Powers family and considerable litigation followed. He won the suit, but soon afterwards disposed of his interest to the Powers' and left for California, where he died. In the meantime he had married a lady from Steilacoom, sister of J. Harvick. He had a son by the name of George.

[11]Richard Hyatt Lansdale was born in Maryland in 1812 and was educated for medicine. He was an enterprising man and made several migrations before he arrived on Whidbey island, going to Ohio, Illinois and Missouri. He went to California in 1849, then to Vancouver and finally to Whidbey Island. In none of these migratory moves was he successful. He founded and named Oak Harbor, Crescent Harbor, Coveland; held many offices in the county and territory; and with others was an ardent advocate and promoter of roads. He left the island after the Indian war.

(Continued in the next issue.)

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LIFE OF FATHER DE SMET, S. J., 1801-1873. By E. Laveille. Authorized translation by Marian Lindsay. Introduction by Charles Coppens, S. J. (New York, Kenedy, 1915. Pp. 400, $2.75.)

The writer of this review first became interested in the career of Father De Smet as a result of his researches in preparation for his *American Fur Trade of the Far West*. He ran across the famous Jesuit's trail in so many and such interesting relations that he conceived a desire to assemble in compact form his manifold writings published and unpublished. When opportunity offered he undertook the work, associating with himself in it Mr. A. T. Richardson, whose wide reading and linguistic attainments particularly qualified him for the task. In due course the work was accomplished, resulting in four large volumes under the title *Life and Letters of Father De Smet*. As a popular biography it was precluded from general use by the high price of the work. This defect has recently been remedied by the publication of the work here under review, a compact volume of 400 pages, entitled *The Life of Father De Smet*, issued by P. J. Kenedy and Sons of New York.

As the title implies, this work is strictly a biography. In the form before us it is an English translation by Marian Lindsay from the original French by E. Laveille, S. J., published in Belgium, date not given but apparently shortly before the outbreak of the European War. The translation has an interesting introduction by Father Coppens referring to the origin of the work and giving a brief summary of Father De Smet's career. The book contains six illustrations, two of which, with the map showing the missionary's travels, first appeared in the Chittenden-Richardson work. The book contains a satisfactory index and a brief list of authorities.

As to the work itself, it is comprehensive and accurate and written in a pleasing and sympathetic style. It deals more with the religious side of Father De Smet's career than does the larger work already referred to, which was designed particularly to develop the historical value of De Smet's activities. On the whole it must be pronounced a creditable and useful production.

To the author as well as to the translator the appeal in Father De Smet's life was naturally that of his missionary work. To the

present writer the appeal was mainly his wonderful influence with the Indians. His missionary work was indeed successful wherever it had any chance to be, but it pertained to an element of population which has been completely submerged in the flood of colonization. Therefore, while the individual missions took deep root and still flourish, their relative importance is nothing to what their devoted founder at one time confidently expeected of them. But their failure to realize his expectations was not in any sense his fault nor that of his system. It resulted from a tremendous movement over which he was able to exercise not the slightest control.

The greatest charm in Father De Smet's work, and, in the writer's opinion, the greatest utility, lay in his power over the Indians during the painful transition from the original tribal life to final subjection to the American government. Some of Father De Smet's exploits at this time must rank with the noblest deeds of heroism in American history. This is particularly true of his visit to the hostile Sioux in 1868. It is no exaggeration to say that no other white man could have performed that feat and lived. It is a beautiful tribute to the uprightness and unselfishness of the great missionary's character that he should have commanded, in a degree so far above that of any of his contemporaries, the affection and confidence of the tribes. And it is a proof which the historian, partial to the white race, will find it difficult to get over that the Indian Question might have been divested of much of its cruelty and savagery if the Indian had been dealt with upon principles of simple justice.

HIRAM M. CHITTENDEN.

THE VIGILANTES OF MONTANA. By Thomas J. Dimsdale. (Butte, Montana, W. F. Bartlett, 1915. Pp. 276. $.75.)

THE VIGILANTES OF MONTANA. By Thomas J. Dimsdale. (Dillon, Montana, Al. J. Noyes, 1915. Pp. 290. $2.50.)

The Vigilantes of Montana has served for many years as a source of inspiration to writers of stories of Western life. It contains a wealth of incident and local color. Charles Dickens is reputed to have said that it was the most interesting book that he had ever read. The work was first printed serially in 1865-66 in the Montana Post, the first Montana newspaper, of which the author was editor, and appeared in book form in 1866.

The Vigilantes were a secret organization of citizens whose purpose was to rid the mining camps about Bannack and Virginia City of desperadoes. Their activities extended from a time a few months

after the Montana gold rush of 1862 through the year 1865. This account of them was therefore written upon the scene and was practically contemporaneous.

Wilder and bloodier tales have never been told of any frontier mining camp in America. The narrator was a little, mild-mannered, English schoolmaster who could not even handle a gun; as different a type as possible from the rugged men who figured in his account, many of whom were his personal friends. He was able, however, to hold his own in a pioneer community and to describe its events as an actor in them could not have done. His literary equipment combined to an unusual degree the journalist's sense of human interest and the historian's fidelity to fact. His account of the establishment of law and order in pioneer days in Montana is justly prized for its historic value.

The first edition was published in 1866: a second in 1882. These have for some time been out of print and the demand for the book has now been met by the simultaneous appearance of two new editions. The "third printing" by W. F. Bartlett is a *fac simile* reproduction in paper covers of the first edition. Aside from the brief introduction by Librarian John F. Davies of the Butte Public Library, it has no notes nor other added material. The publisher is one of the oldest pioneers in Montana who was a resident of Virginia City in the days of the Vigilantes.

The cloth bound "third edition" is a more pretentious work containing many illustrations, footnotes and a ninety-page "History of Southern Montana" compiled by A. J. Noyes. This so-called history is made up of miscellaneous and detached bits of information relating to events from 1862 to 1865. In addition to reminiscences, many short documents are incorporated, such as letters, notes from court records, deeds, records of miners' meetings, the oath of the Vigilantes, mining laws, and a list of road agents compiled by Professor Garver. Careful proof reading and an index to the supplementary material would have added to the value of the book.

CHRISTINA DENNY SMITH.

HISTORY OF SEATTLE, FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME. By Clarence B. Bagley. (Chicago, The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1916. Three volumes, pp. 885+1155. $25.00.)

Mr. Bagley's life gave him unusual equipment for this task. He came to the Northwest while still a boy. He became a printer and newspaper man and as such he enjoyed the acquaintance of

many of the most prominent men and women among the pioneers. He has been an industrious collector of newspapers, pamphlets, books and manuscripts. Out of the abundance of his own memories and the collected writings of others he has drawn for the making of these books. He says that at first it was planned for him simply to supervise and edit the writings of others but at the last he had to do much of the writing himself.

The history part comprises 699 pages, embracing all of Volume I and the first half of Volume II. The author has divided this into thirty-eight chapters. A few of the chapter headings will give an idea of the swing of the books. They begin: "In the Beginning," "The Pioneer Period," "The Indian War Period," "The Indian Tribes and Chief Seattle," "Seattle's Mosquito Fleet," "Coal Mines and Coal Mining," "Washington State University."

After treating of various city interests, he harks back again and again to the beginnings. Chapter XXII deals with the "Mercer Expeditions" and Chapter XXXII is devoted to "Early and More Important City Plats." In almost every case the individual chapters contain exhaustive information that will prove of value to all future writers on these subjects.

Each of the volumes has an index and all three of them are abundantly illustrated. The frontispiece in Volume I is a portrait of the author. That in Volume II is a portrait of Rev. Daniel Bagley, father of the author; that in Volume III is a portrait of Horace C. Henry, well known Seattle capitalist and philanthropist; the first portrait and biography in the biographical section is that of Thomas Mercer, father of Mrs. Clarence B. Bagley.

Many of the illustrations are rare views of the city in its older periods and, of course, pictures of buildings of the present are included. All of them will have an increasing value and interest.

The author makes the following acknowledgment: "Messrs. Welford Beaton, Floyd C. Kaylor and Victor J. Farrar have done much work in its preparation and the writer's thanks are also here extended to Judge Roger S. Greene, Dr. H. Eugene Allen and Messrs. Harry W. Bringhurst and A. A. Braymer for notable aid and kindly counsel during the progress of the work."

Volumes I and II have Mr. Bagley's name on the back and on the title page. The copyright notice is also in his name. Volume III does not have his name on the back or on the title-page. He has no copyright notice in this volume. Without his having said so in words, these omissions seem to be evidence that Mr. Bagley is not

the author of the large collection of portraits and biographies paid for by the individuals or their families. Every time a fresh scheme of this kind is perpetrated the cry goes up: "When will our people's vanity cease to be exploited?" Friends of Mr. Bagley might well wish that his name were even more completely divorced from the paid write-ups.

Mr. Bagley's elaborate and extensive history of Seattle calls renewed attention to the need of a brief and inexpensive history of the city. His researches will probably facilitate the preparation of such a book.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

HAMMOND, JOHN MARTIN. Quaint and Historic Forts of North America. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915. Pp. 309. $5.00 net.)

This volume is an interesting example of the wide range of the bookmaker's field. No one who has ever visited one of the old historic forts but has wondered how the others resembled it or differed. The present volume answers in part that query. It is a journey, so to speak, to all the historic forts in North America. Each is introduced by a brief historical sketch setting forth the importance of the fort, the date and circumstances of its building, and for those interested in its technical phases, a description is added that will appeal to military engineers as a basis of comparison. Most of the descriptions are accompanied by handsome illustrations that add greatly to the value of the book. In the case of some of the western forts, and Fort Vancouver is among them, no illustrations accompany the sketch. The book typographically is an excellent specimen of the printer's art.

EDWARD MCMAHON.

WAIILATPU, ITS RISE AND FALL, 1836-1847. By Miles Cannon. (Boise, Idaho, Capital News Job Rooms, 1915. Pp. 171. 75 cents.)

With fine letter-press and twenty-four good half-tones Mr. Cannon has told the tragic story of the famous Whitman massacre. He is sympathetic in his treatment of the theme. He also fortifies his conclusions with abundant documents. The story is again told of the journey to the west and of the interesting developments down to the awful massacre which is given with unusual minutia. The book ends with the execution of five Indians convicted of crime.

Mr. Cannon's book will be received as a valuable and interesting addition to the growing literature about Whitman and his as-

sociates. The author was especially impressed by the character of Mrs. Whitman, of whom he writes: "In searching through the darkened corridors of the past, it has been a source of much gratification to the author to find in Narcissa Prentiss Whitman a character well intended to exemplify the higher and nobler qualities of our race. It was her great privilege to be the first American woman to cross the continent and look upon the waters of the Columbia river, and that fact alone would entitle her to distinction. But when, moreover, the records of the past reveal in her the beautiful personality we so much admire, and the womanly qualities we would perpetuate, it would be strange indeed if her followers, actuated by her untimely death and the serene and courageous manner in which she faced it, failed to confer upon her, in love and memory, the mystic crown of martyrdom."

Tertiary Faunal Horizons of Western Washington. By Charles E. Weaver. (Seattle, University of Washington, 1916. Pp. 67.)

Eocene of the Lower Cowlitz River Valley, Washington; The Post Eocene Formations of Western Washington; The Oligocene of Kitsap County, Washington. By Charles E. Weaver. (San Francisco, California Academy of Sciences, 1916. Pp. 52.)

Here are four studies by Charles E. Weaver, Assistant Professor of Geology, University of Washington. The first study carries five plates of illustrations and the second group of three studies is accompanied by maps. The work appeals more directly to geologists but historians of the Northwest will also rejoice over the light thus thrown on prehistoric conditions.

Anderson, Dice Robins, Ph. D. William Branch Giles: A Study in the Politics of Virginia and the Nation from 1790 to 1830. (Menasha, Wis., George Banta Publishing Company, 1914. Pp. 271.)

Professor Anderson of Richmond College, Virginia, presents an interesting account of one of the most vigorous of Jefferson's many liteutenants in furthering the work of the Republican-Democratic party. Because of his vigorous and cutting tongue, Giles has been dealt with rather severely by the New England and Federalist historians and in a measure Professor Anderson comes to his rescue. Taking into full account the facts in the case, he gives as favorable a view of Giles as is possible, but after all is said and done it is hard

to conceive of Giles as a statesman. He belongs rather to the ranks of those extremely active, vindictive, unrelenting party zealots, rather above the average in ability. The volume throws a good deal of light on the internal workings of Virginia politics and is intelligently and carefully done.

Scroggs, William O., Ph D. Filibusters and Financiers. The Story of William Walker and His Associates. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916. Pp. 408.)

Those who are interested in the past relations of the United States with the countries to the south of us will find the story of William Walker and his associates interesting, and perhaps more interesting still is that part of the story that deals with the financiers who were the important characters behind the scenes. William Walker has heretofore been a somewhat vague personality, moving along the shadowy edges of our history. Professor Scroggs brings him to the center of the stage where we all can see him and the loose jointed international morality of his age.

The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1916. Pp. 700.)

Besides the value of the scholarly work and the historical content of this volume, it is an inspiration and a hope that other states may in time secure facilities for publishing their annals in an equally sensible and serviceable style. The work is devoted to the Illinois region.

A New Lewis and Clark Map. By Annie Heloise Abel. (New York, American Geographical Society, 1916. Pp. 329-345, reprinted from the Geographical Review for May, 1916.)

Doctor Abel, formerly of Goucher College, is now Associate Professor of History at Smith College. She has made a number of scholarly studies of historical materials in the United States Indian Office and now gives the world another in this discussion of a manuscript map recently found in that same repository. She does not reach a positive conclusion, but closes her study as follows: "All these things bear witness to the great historical value of the Indian Office map, for, even if it should not be the original map sent by Jefferson to Lewis, it is the most detailed primary source for geo-

graphical knowledge of the Missouri River country that has yet been forthcoming. There is a bare possibility that it was made by or under the direction of Lewis and Clark themselves before they started up the Missouri, being to them a composite itinerary map."

SANDFORD FLEMING, EMPIRE BUILDER. By Lawrence J. Burpee. (London, Humphrey Milford, 1915. Pp. 288. $3.40 net.)

Sandford Fleming was a fine type of the constructive pioneers of Canada. He came from Scotland while a young man in 1845. In his old age he gave over to Mr. Burpee the necessary information and documents for the making of this book. It was completed but not published before the pioneer's death.

Westerners will find the book interesting, for there are such chapters as "The Canadian Pacific Railway," "Ocean to Ocean in 1872," "Over the Mountains by the Kicking Horse," "The Pacific Cable" and "A Diplomatic Mission to Honolulu."

The book is well printed and there are a number of fine halftone illustrations of historic significance.

WRITINGS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916. Pp. 573. $3.50.)

Volume VI completes the first half of this most important series. The years covered in this volume are 1816-1819. John Quincy Adams spent fifty years of his eventful life in the public service. He was a consistent and persistent friend of the Northwest.

CLUB STORIES. By Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs. (Seattle, Lowman & Hanford, 1915. Pp. 94. $1.00.)

This little volume contains twenty-two short stories written by Washington club women in a state literature contest. The plot of each story is laid in the state of Washington. As a result, the stories are full of local color and have a value quite apart from their literary worth.

INDIAN MYTHS OF THE NORTHWEST. By William D. Lyman. (Worcester, Massachusetts, American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, Volume 25, Part 2, October 20, 1915. Pp. 375-395.)

Professor Lyman of Whitman College opens this paper as follows: "Since the publication of the book on the Columbia River

by the writer, so many inquiries have come in asking for the original sources of Indian Myths that I am offering this attempt to answer in part these inquiries." His paper is therefore very largely a bibliographical study, though he also discusses briefly the value and meaning of Indian myths. He also calls attention to a number of aboriginal geographical names.

ANNUAL MAGAZINE SUBJECT INDEX, 1915.—Edited by Frederick Winthrop Faxon. (Boston, The Boston Book Company, 1916. Pp. 269.)

The Northwest is interested in this publication since the magazines indexed include the Oregon Historical Society Quarterly and the Washington Historical Quarterly.

Other Books Received

BUFFINGTON, ARTHUR HOWLAND. New England and the Western Fur Trade, 1629-1675. (Cambridge, John Wilson and Son, 1916. Reprinted from the Proceedings of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XVIII. Pp. 160-192.)

CALIFORNIA SOCIETY, SONS OF THE REVOLUTION. The Spirit of Patriotism as evidenced by the Revolutionary and ancestral records of the Society. (Los Angeles, The Society, 1915. Pp. 512. $7.50.)

CANADIAN DEPARTMENT OF MINES. Summary Report of the Geological Survey for the Calendar Year 1915. (Ottawa, Government Printer, 1916. Pp. 307.)

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ELIOT, SAMUEL A. Report upon the conditions and needs of the Indians of the Nortwest Coast. (Washington, D. C., 1915. Pp. 28.)

ESAREY, LOGAN. Indiana local history, a guide to its study with some bibliographical notes. (Bulletin of Extension Division, Indiana University, March, 1916. Pp. 19.)

FERREE, BARR. A kalendar for Pennsylvania, 1915. (New York, Pennsylvania Society, 1916. Pp. 23.)

HISTORIC LANDMARKS ASSOCIATION OF CANADA. Annual report, 1915. (Ottawa, George H. Popham, Printer, 1915. Pp. 20.)

KETCHAM, WILLIAM H. Conditions on the Flathead and Fort Peck Indian Reservations. (Washington, D. C., Board of Indian Commissioners, 1915. Pp. 93.)

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications, Volume 8, 1914-15. (New Orleans, The Society, 1916. Pp. 124.)

MYRES, JOHN LINTON. The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science. (Berkeley, University of California Publications in History, 1916. Pp. 81. $.75.)

ONONDAGA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Annual volume, 1914. (Syracuse, Dehler Press, 1914. Pp. 214.)

PACIFIC COAST ASSOCIATION OF FIRE CHIEFS. Proceedings of the twenty-third annual convention. (Seattle, H. W. Bringhurst, Secretary, 1916. Pp. 68.)

ROGERS, LINDSAY. The Postal Power of Congress. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1916. Pp. 189.)

ROSE, J. HOLLAND. Nationality in Modern History. (New York, 1916. The Macmillan Company. Pp. 202. $1.25.)

SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA WOMEN IN NEW YORK. Manual, 1916. (New York, The Society, 1916. Pp. 12.)

UNITED HISTORICAL AND PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS OF NEW YORK. The Need of a History of New York. (New York, Harper, 1915. Pp. 55.)

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The Keyes and the Civil War Manuscript Collections in the Wisconsin Historical Library. Bulletin of Information, No. 81. (Madison, Wis. The Society, 1916. Pp. 20.)

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Report for 1914-1915, Containing Letters from the Samuel Huntington Correspondence, 1800-1812. (Cleveland, The Society, 1915. Pp. 172.)

WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TORONTO. Annual report, 1914-1915. (Toronto, Univ. of Toronto Press, 1915. Pp. 26.)

WRIGHT, PHILIP QUINCY. The Enforcement of International Law through Municipal Law in the United States. (Urbana, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, March, 1916. Pp. 264. $1.25.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Important Recruit to Northwestern Historians

Thomas Maitland Marshall, Ph. D., has been added to the faculty of the University of Idaho as an assistant to Professor Edward M. Hulme of the department of history. Doctor Marshall is a University of California man and through the press of that institution he issued a work in 1914 which brought forth much favorable comment. The work is entitled "A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841." It was reviewed in this Quarterly, Volume VI, Number 2 (April, 1915), pages 126-127. He has come to a rich field in which to gather more fruits of scholarship.

Professor David Remains in the Northwest

Charles Wendell David, of Wisconsin, Oxford and Harvard, substituted during the year 1915-1916 for Ralph H. Lutz on the faculty of the University of Washington while Doctor Lutz served Stanford University. Mr. David's work was so satisfactory that a permanent place was offered to him in the University of Washington. He has accepted, although in doing so he had to decline positions offered him in other institutions. Doctor Lutz will also resume his work in the University of Washington at the opening of the next academic year.

A Japanese Graduate in History

Among the students who received their Master of Arts degree at the University of Washington in 1916 was a Japanese named Nuinosuke Kobayashi, whose thesis was written on the subject: "Abraham Lincoln and Slavery." His graduate work was done under the direction of Professor Edward McMahon.

First Victoria Directory

The Library of the University of Washington has been enriched by a copy of the first Victoria Directory, published in March, 1860. It was presented by Mrs. Sarah Phillips, whose husband was the son of Alexander Phillips, one of the early settlers of Victoria. The author of the book was Edward Mallandaine, whose preface begins: "It has been thought by the author of the following work that the

present being an age of advancement, the period has fully arrived when our fair town of Victoria is of sufficient importance to deserve that index of commercial progress, a Directory." The little book has a great interest for all old Puget Sounders. The outside covers have advertisements for Josiah L. Lecount, importer of books, San Francisco; Royal Hotel, Wharf Street, Victoria, V. I., James Wilcox, Proprietor; Curtis & Moore, Druggists, Yates Street, Victoria, V. I. The "V. I." shows the unit of government as Vancouver Island before the province of British Columbia was organized.

Lectures on Latin-America

Professor Percy Alvin Martin of Stanford University is giving two courses in the University of Washington during the summer session. One ocurse deals with the History of South America and the other with Latin-American Institutions. Doctor Martin was a lecturer on Latin-American History at Harvard University in 1915. He is now devoting his whole time to that field of historical work.

Pioneers Hold Annual Meeting

Judge Thomas Burke was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Pioneer Association of the State of Washington on June 7. At the business meeting held on the previous day, officers were elected as folows: President, Edmond S. Meany; Vice-President, George H. Foster; Secretary, Major W. V. Rinerhart; Treasurer, William M. Calhoun; Trustees: M. R. Maddocks, Leander Miller, Frank H. Winslow, James McComb and W. H. Pumphrey.

Spokane Historical Society

The society recently organized with the above name has its headquarters in the Spokane Public Library. The officers are as follows: President, N. W. Durham; First Vice-President, W. D. Vincent; Second Vice-President, Mrs. E. F. Rue; Corresponding Secretary, William S. Lewis; Recording Secretary, George W. Fuller; Treasurer, B. L. Gordon; Trustees: Rev. Jonathan Edwards, N. W. Durham, B. L. Gordon, W. D. Vincent, Rev. J. Neilson Barry, Mrs. E. F. Rue, Harl J. Cook, E. I. Seehorn, William S. Lewis, Major R. D. Gwydir and Garrett B. Hunt.

Historical Meeting in Spokane

The Northwestern Association of History, Government and Economic Teachers held its spring meeting in Spokane on the 19th and

20th of April. The first session was a joint meeting with the Washington State Historical Society. The Hon. George Turner of Spokane presided and the program was as follows:

Some Source Material for Northwestern History—Mr. T. C. Elliott, Walla Walla.

Old Spokane House and the Fur-Traders—Mr. N. W. Durham, Spokane.

Flotsom and Jetsom on the Sands of Time—Rev. J. Neilson Barry, Spokane.

Work of the State Historical Society—Secretary W. P. Bonney, Tacoma.

The meeting on the 20th was presided over by Professor C. S. Kingston, President of the Association, and the following program was given:

The Open Door Policy—Professor F. A. Golder, State College of Washington.

The Use of the War News in Schools—Professor J. H. Underwood, University of Montana.

Round Table: How to Bring the Claims of History Instruction before the Educational Authorities—Led by Prof. Leroy F. Jackson, State College of Washington.

At the business session that followed the program Professor Jackson was appointed to head a committee of his choosing to formulate the aims of history teaching and bring them to the attention of educators and the public. The following officers were elected: President, Miss Adella Parker, Seattle; Vice-President, Professor H. L. Talkington, Lewiston, Idaho; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Leroy F. Jackson, State College of Washington.

Professor Golder Goes East

Professor Frank A. Golder of the State College of Washington is teaching history during the summer session at the University of Boston. That invitation is a deserved recognition of his fine ability.

Living Pioneers of Washington

In this Quarterly for January, 1916, pages 87-89, and for April, 1916, pages 178-180, there were published lists of biographical sketches of living pioneers of the Pacific Northwest and especially of Washington. The series of articles, written by the editor of this Quarterly, appeared on the editorial page of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. From October 28, 1915, to June 3, 1916, the articles pub-

lished numbered one hundred and eighty-nine. After June 3, the articles were discontinued on account of the Post-Intelligencer's need of space during the present political campaign. The list of the articles published from April 1 to June 3, 1916, is here given with the present address of the pioneers:

April 1, Cyrus A. D'Arcy, Anacortes, Wash.
April 3, Mrs. Ann Elizabeth White Bigelow, Olympia, Wash.
April 4, Mr. and Mrs. John Alexander, Olympia, Wash.
April 5, Samuel B. Best, Anacortes, Wash.
April 6, Alexander Spithill, Marysville, Wash.
April 7, Mr. and Mrs. Austin Mires, Ellensburg, Wash.
April 8, L. A. Treen, Stanwood, Wash.
April 10, Mrs. Mary Perry Frost, Hillhurst, Wash.
April 11, Mrs. India Ann Hicks, Lacey, Wash.
April 12, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph T. Chilcoat, Randle, Wash.
April 13, Mr. and Mrs. John M. Lyon, Seattle.
April 14, L. W. D. Shelton, Baker City, Oregon.
April 15, Mr. and Mrs. J. O. Rudene, LaConner, Wash.
April 17, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin F. Dean, Blyn, Wash.
April 18, W. H. Davis, Kirkland, Wash.
April 19, Frederick Roberts, Port Angeles, Wash.
April 20, George H. Himes, Portland, Oregon.
April 21, Merrill D. Whittier, Riverton, Wash.
April 22, R. J. Gwydir, Spokane, Wash.
April 24,Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Dwelley, LaConner, Wash.
April 25, George W. Runnells, Tonasket, Wash.
April 26, Mrs. Mary Ann St. Germain, Tacoma, Wash.
April 27, Gwin Hicks, Lacey, Wash.
April 28, Mrs. Annie Frost Macleay, Olympia, Wash.
April 29, William Goldmyer, Gate, Wash.
May 1, Mrs. Calista A. Lovejoy Leach, Coupeville, Wash.
May 2, Charles McKay, Friday Harbor, Wash.
May 3, Mrs. Mary Throssell, Roy, Wash.
May 4, Alonzo Low, Snohomish, Wash.
May 5, Mr. and Mrs. David Layson Matheny, Tacoma, Wash.
May 6, Mr. and Mrs. P. Halloran, Edison, Wash.
May 8, Newton J. Ward, Chelan, Wash.
May 9, P. B. Van Trump, R. F. D. 4, Binghamton, N. Y.
May 10, Mrs. Eunice Winsor, Shelton, Wash.
May 11, Samuel D. Crockett, Seattle.
May 12, Mrs. Margaret H. Gilbreath, Dayton, Wash.

May 13, Mrs. J. Patton Anderson, Palatka, Fla.
May 15, Henry Jackson, Hoodsport, Wash.
May 16, Michael T. Simmons, Jr., Ellensburg, Wash.
May 17, Mrs. L. D. Williams, Ilwaco, Wash.
May 18, Mrs. Lucinda Sargent, Rochester, Wash.
May 19, William Whitfield, Snohomish, Wash.
May 20, Gustave Rosenthal, Olympia, Wash.
May 22, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Stephens, Acme, Wash.
May 23, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Wiles, Seattle.
May 24, David S. Troy, Chimacum, Wash.
May 25, Mrs. John G. Parker, Olympia, Wash.
May 26, Mrs. Mary Jane Hayden, Seattle.
May 27, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Shaner, Mossyrock, Wash.
May 29, Alfred Eugene Thurlow, Seattle.
May 30, Samuel K. Taylor, Kamilche, Wash.
May 31, John V. Campbell, Lilooet, B. C.
June 1, Mrs. Susan Mary Stringer, Walla Walla, Wash.
June 2, Mr. and Mrs. Michael D. Morrison, Seattle.
June 3, Mrs. George H. Foster, Colby, Wash.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

XIX. The Turbulent Decade

1. Agitation for Statehood.
   - a. Constitution of 1878.
     - i. Convention at Walla Walla June 11 to July 27.
     - ii. Delegates present from "Panhandle" of Idaho.
     - iii. Prohibition submitted as supplemental article.
     - iv. Woman suffrage submitted as supplemental article.
     - v. Constitution approved by the people.
     - vi. Prohibition and woman suffrage defeated by the people.
   - b. Admission to statehood refused by Congress.
2. Woman Suffrage.
   - a. Agitation continued.
   - b. Granted by Territorial law, Nov. 23, 1883.
   - c. Women voted in elections of 1884 and 1886.
   - d. Law declared null by Terirtorial Supreme Court.
     - i. Decision dated January 3, 1887.
3. Prohibition.
   - a. Agitation continued.
   - b. Independent political action by Prohibitionists.
4. Railroad Excitement.
   - a. Efforts to secure railroads.
   - b. Last Spike celebrations, September, 1883.
   - c. Agitation for forfeiture of unearned land grants.
     - i. "Under a Black Cloud," campaign, 1884.
     - ii. C. S. Voorhees, Democrat, elected to Congress.
5. Anti-Chinese Riots.
   - a. Agitation against Chinese labor, 1885.
   - b. All Chinese driven from Tacoma, Nov. 3, 1885.
   - c. Riot quelled in Seattle, February 8, 1886.
   - d. Disturbances elsewhere.

6. Year of Fires, 1889.
   a. At Seattle, June 6.
   b. At Ellensburg, July 4.
   c. At Spokane, August 4.
   d. At Vancouver, same year.
      i. Business section of each city destroyed.
7. Statehood Achieved.
   a. Continuous agitation.
   b. Congress passed Enabling Act, February 22, 1889.
   c. Governor's proclamation to elect delegates, April 15, 1889.
   d. Constitutional convention at Olympia.
      i. Assembled July 4, 1889.
      ii. Work completed, August 22.
   e. Woman suffrage and prohibition again submitted as supplemental articles.
   f. Election, October 1, 1889.
      i. Constitution approved by 40,152 for and 11,879 against.
      ii. Prohibition and woman suffrage defeated.
   g. State admitted, November 11, 1889.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Most libraries will have some of the books or newspapers necessary for a study of this period. The following citations may prove helpful:

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE.—Works of, Volume XXXI (History of Washington, Idaho and Montana). Chapter IX, pages 301-392, entitled "Progress and Statehood," deals with the latter portion of this syllabus.

CONSTITUTION OF 1878.—A pamphlet edition of this constitution was issued at the time. It is now rare, but when found it will prove interesting as a comparison with what was finally adopted as the constitution in 1889.

KINNEAR, GEORGE.—Anti-Chinese Riots. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Seattle riots (February 8, 1911) Mr. Kinnear published a little book of seventeen pages giving a record of the event. He commanded the Home Guards during the riot. Wherever the book is available it will be found helpful in this study.

MEANY, EDMOND S.—Governors of Washington. The biographies of Governors Ferry, Newell, Squire, Semple and Moore should be read.

MEANY, EDMOND S.—History of the State of Washington.—Chapters XXV and XXVI deal with the "Turbulent Decade" and the movement toward statehood.

NEWSPAPERS.—In some of the larger libraries and in some of the newspaper offices files of the papers may be consulted. These would give about the only extended accounts of the great fires of 1889 and, of course, they would prove of great use whenever files covering the other events can be found.

STATE DOCUMENTS.—A few of the larger libraries have the laws, court reports and other documents bearing upon this field, especially on the portion pertaining to woman suffrage.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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A PIONEER OF THE SPOKANE COUNTRY*

I was born at Newark, New Jersey, on June 8th, 1835. My parents were both Scotch; my mother was Margaret Easton; my father, John Smith. As a small boy I was often on the boats about Newark and Passaic, New Jersey. In 1849, when I was a lad of fourteen years, I sailed from New York for California as cabin boy on the *Mary and Adeline,* a government transport that brought out some troops to California. If I recall correctly, these were two companies of the 2nd Infantry. We went around the Horn. This was my first experience at sea,

In California I shipped on the steamboat *McKinnon,* carrying freight and passengers from San Francisco to Sacramento. Later I went from Sacramento to the North Fork of American River, where I placer mined. From there I went to Colma, on the South Fork, where Sutter had his saw mill, and in the mill race of which the first gold had been discovered.

In 1852, I went by boat from Humboldt Bay, California, to a mining town called Trinidad; then from there to Salmon River; from there to Scott's River; from there to Yreka, California; and from there overland to Jacksonville, Jackson County, Oregon. At Jacksonville, I freighted from Crescent City, on the coast near the California line, to Jacksonville. In 1854, I joined a company made up at Jacksonville and organized by Captain Jackson—the 2nd Oregon Militia —if I remember correctly. The company was used as an escort to go out on the plains and meet settlers coming to Oregon by the Southern route. In 1853, or 1856, the Rogue River war broke out

* This relation was made by John E. Smith of Reardon, Washington, to William S. Lewis, Corresponding Secretary of the Spokane Historical Society. The text is given in the words of Mr. Smith and signed with his name. The footnotes are by Mr. Lewis, to whom the Quarterly is indebted for the article.—Editor.

and many settlers were killed by the Indians. I joined the Oregon Volunteer Militia and worked in the Quartermaster's Department and had charge of the freight outfit under Captain Jesse Walker. We did everything then with pack animals. I have my discharge papers yet. I had served in the Rogue River Indian War of 1853-55.

In 1857, I was working on the Silets Reservation, in Oregon. I went from there on horseback to Vancouver, Wash., where I was hired by the government to help drive some cattle to Fort Walla Walla—I have forgotten the name of the Lieutenant in charge.

Arriving at Fort Walla Walla, I worked around the post for a year, looking after cattle and horses and packing, in the capacity of an assistant pack or wagon master. When Col. Wright left Fort Walla Walla in 1858, I accompanied his force. If I remember correctly, there were 404 men under his command at that time; four companies of dragoons; two or three companies of artillery; and two or three companies of infantry.[1] I worked under Ben Drew as assistant pack master of one of the pack trains. There were about 100 mules in our train, and probably 200 or more mules in all the pack trains.[2] Each company had a pack train to carry the company baggage, rations and supplies.

In marching, our formation was a couple of companies of dragoons ahead; then the artillery, all the artillery men being afoot and equipped as infantry; then the pack trains composed of 200 or more animals; and a rear guard of a couple of companies of dragoons. In marching, we were strung out over the country for probably a mile. Leaving Fort Walla Walla, we went down Two Canyon[3] where we crossed the Snake River. From the Snake River we struck north to the Palouse River, then across to Cow Creek. From Cow Creek our next camp was at Lagoon Springs; then we moved on to a lake; I think this lake is now known as Fish Trap Lake; this was our next camp. Here we had a brush with the Indians, the first we had seen

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1 The expedition consisted of companies C, E, H and I, First Dragoons; companies A, B, G, K and M, Third Artillery; companies B and E, Ninth Infantry; and thirty Nez Perce Indians and three chiefs to act as guides. The latter were under the command of Lieutenant Mullan. The dragoons numbered 190, the artillery 400 and the infantry 90—a total of 680 soldiers. Besides these, there were 200 attaches, distributed as packers, wagon masters, herders, etc. Joe Craig, a son of Colonel William Craig; Donald McKay, son of the Astor partner of that name; and Cut Mouth John, a Umatilla Indian, were also taken along as interpreters. See Lawrence Kip, **Army Life on the Pacific**, (N. Y., Redfield, 1859), pp. 31, 44, 45, and 143.

2 The pack trains numbered about 400 animals consisting of C. P. Higgins' train of 90 mules, Dan Rathborn's 90 mules, Tom Buell's 90 mules, and those of Ben Drew.

3 The Tucannon. Colonel Wright established a camp at the Snake River crossing at the mouth of the Tucannon river which he called Camp Taylor. Here he left a guard consisting of Company D, Third Artillery.

since leaving the Snake River.[4] The country thereabouts is rocky and scabby, and some of the Indians got on the high rocks and shot into camp several times; a company of dragoons was sent after them, but as far as I know, no one was hurt on either side. Our camp at the lake was then called Poison Camp.[5] One of the soldiers gathered a mess of wild parsnips, and ate them; they killed him. He was buried there, hence the name. From this camp we moved on to the Four Lakes Country; we camped at the southwest end of the East Lake, which, I believe, is known as Clear Lake.[6] From Poison Camp we saw Indians in bunches of two or three on the hills all day until we reached Clear Lake.

At Clear Lake there is quite a hill on the East which sloped towards our camp. We camped there four or five days, nearly a week. While there the Indians would collect on this hill during the day in bunches of 50 or 60; occasionally some would make a feint of riding down towards our camp. At last Colonel Wright started four companies of dragoons out after them. They lit out. It was reported that the dragoons killed about 20 indians.[7] This was the battle of Four Lakes.

From Clear Lake we came east across white bluff plains to what was later known as Head's ranch. Coming from Clear Lake we had another brush with the Indians.[8] The Indians set fire to the prairie grass ahead of the soldiers. The fight was about where Head's place is. I saw one dead Indian. It was reported that several were killed.[9] I was, of course, with the pack trains, and was not doing any of the fighting. If I remember aright, we struck and crossed Hangman's Creek, near Greenwood Cemetery, at its mouth. We proceeded on east, across the rocky ground between Liberty Park and the Spokane River, and camped on the prairie, at the bend of the river, near the ford, which was located at the head of the bend, near the present Spokane & Inland Bridge.

Colonel Wright camped here a couple of days. Several Indians crossed the ford and came into camp; among these was Spokane Garry.

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4 "Aug. 30. Today we first saw the Indians in any force. Shots were exchanged between the enemy and our advanced pickets."—Kip, **Army Life,** p. 52.

5 Kip, **Army Life,** p. 52, states that the camps was called "Camp Pedrigal," and that two of the artillery men died from eating poisonous roots.

6 Mr. Smith is mistaken; the lake is Silver Lake.

7 For an account of the battle, official reports, and the statement that 17 Indians were killed and between 40 and 50 wounded, see Kip, **Army Life,** pp. 53-60, 133, 142.

8 This was the battle of Spokane Plains. See Kip, **Army Life,** pp. 63-68.

9 The reports state that two chiefs, two brothers of Chief Garry, and many Indians of lesser note were either killed or wounded. Kip, **Army Life,** pp. 138, 143.

Garry was dressed in whiteman's clothes. It was reported among the men that he hadn't taken any part in the fighting against the soldiers. He always had free access to the camp whenever he came to it. One of the Indians that came into our camp here was seized and held under guard.

At this time there was a large Indian camp about 16 miles up the river. Colonel Wright held some consultations with the Indians. The men in the command understood that Colonel Wright gave it out that he was going up to Colville, and that he hired some Indian guides to take him there. After being in camp a couple of days, he broke camp and sent part of his pack train across the river by the ford; then he started two companies of dragoons up the river. He left the rest of his command in the camp for several hours; then he recalled the pack train from the north side of the river and we all set out up the river. We followed the river most of the way, and camped just north of what now is Seaton Station, on the Spokane & Inland Electric road. About a mile and a half before coming to camp we passed the large Indian camp on the South bank of the Spokane River. The Indians had deserted it leaving many of their lodges and considerable of their property. Near here Captain Ord with some 12 men saw some Indians on the opposite side of the river and shot at them and killed some of their horses. I don't think that any of the Indians were hurt.[10] Ord, I believe, afterwards became a general in the Civil War. A short distance about our camp ground there was a ford across the river.

At this camp we hung the Indian we had brought along with us from our last camp. We hung him from one of the poplar trees growing along the river bank near our camp. They used my lasso rope to hang him. Tom Buell,[11] who now lives near Lewiston, Idaho, and who had been in Colonel Steptoe's command, acted as hangman. Lieutenant Mullan, of Mullan Road fame, had joined our party, and he had a light wagon—the only wagon in the outfit—in which he carried his surveying tools and instruments.[12] Some of the soldiers got in this, stood the Indian up on a box, and held him while the noose was put about his neck, then drove the wagon out from under him.

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10 Neither the official report nor any other statement of the expedition mentions a ruse of this kind on the part of Colonel Wright. On September 7th "Hearing that the enemy was in force above on the Spokane, we broke camp and moved up the river about seven miles."—Kip, **Army Life.** This was the camp Mr. Smith refers to.

11 Tom Buell, now living at Lewiston, Idaho, was in charge of one of the pack trains; he states that he was selected as hangman because he could tie a "Hangman's noose."

12 Kip, **Army Life,** p. 44, mentions the fact that Lieutenant Mullan took along a light vehicle for his surveying instruments.

While at this camp the dragoons drove into camp a big lot of Indian horses which they had captured at Saltese Lake. The Indians from the big camp had tried to drive them off out of the country.[13] The Indians abandoned their camp and tried to run the horses off through the hills by the trails leading south by Saltese Lake, but Colonel Wright fooled them. If I remember aright, there was 804 horses.[14] They were rounded up in a little bend of the river, about a mile below where the rocky point juts out towards the river from the south, a short distance above where we were camped. There was a sort of a bar there, overgrown with quaking asp and bushes. The horses were crowded together here. The old horses were shot, the colts were clubbed in the head. Many of the civilians smuggled out horses for themselves.

When we broke camp, to go to the Coeur d'Alene Mission, many of these Indian horses were in our outfit, being led by the men. When we got near the Little Falls—Post Falls—I noticed a bunch of horses being collected beside the line of march ahead of me. One of the men had given me one of the Indian ponies to lead. I was riding a mule, so I got off the mule and mounted the pony. When I got up to the bunch of horses I found that the quartermaster was stopping everyone who was leading an extra horse. The officers thought these horses would take up too much time, require too much attention, so they gathered them all, and killed them there. They let me by, riding the pony and leading the mule.

Between Post Falls and Coeur d'Alene Lake, near where the town of Coeur d'Alene is, I noticed some small enclosed fields cultivated by the Indians, the first, I believe, I had seen on the expedition.

Our next camp was at the north end of Coeur d'Alene Lake, about where the present town site is. From there we made a short camp at Wolf Lodge. Our next camp was the Mission. We stayed there two or three days. There were only a few of the Indians about.

From the Mission we went down the Coeur d'Alene River five or six miles, and camped; then crossed the river. It took us a day to cross. Colonel Wright had canvas boats with him. We, also, had some Indian boats to hold us. We camped one night on the other side, then proceeded to the mouth of the St. Joe, camped there two nights, one camp on each side of the river. From the mouth of the St. Joe, I think that our next camp was on Latah or Hangman Creek,

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13 For an account of the capture of these horses, see Kip, **Army Life**, pp. 69-70.

14 The number is given as 900; for an account of their destruction see Kip, **Army Life**, pp. 70-71.

though my recollection is not quit clear whether we made this in one march or not.

Our camp on the creek was at a place where there is quite a prairie on the creek bottom—15 or 20 acres—at a point where there is not much of a canyon, and not much water in the creek—a point near where the old "Kentuck" trail afterwards crossed the creek; if I recall, this is about 18 or 20 miles south from the present city of Spokane.[15] Here a council was held by Colonel Wright with some of the Indians. While we were here Qualchien, the Yakima chief, came riding into camp one morning on a gray horse. His squaw and another Indian were with him. He had a paper which he gave to Colonel Wright. I heard that on this paper was written in English: "Here is your man, catch him." It was the talk among the soldiers that either Chief Garry or the priests at the Coeur d'Alene Mission had written the note and given it to Qualchien and sent him into Wright's camp with it. I think that it was Chief Garry who gave Qualchien away with the paper.[16]

There was a big pine tree on the hillside near Colonel Wright's tent which was pitched near the mouth of a gulch. Behind Wright's tent, the tree leaned out over the hill. They wouldn't allow civilians about headquarters, but several of the men and myself, got in back of Wright's tent and saw what was going on. They put a rope around a limb of the tree, and pulled Qualchien up. He seemed a much surprised Indian. Tom Buell acted as hangman. It was reported about camp that he got $20 for each hanging. When we moved from this camp[17] we took along an old Indian chief, Owyi, Qualchien's father. On our way back at Two Canyon creek, he was shot while trying to escape.

On my return to Fort Walla Walla with Colonel Wright's command, in the fall of 1858, I hired out to Messrs. Greanleaf & Allen, of San Francisco, who ran sutlers' stores at the various western army posts, and at Walla Walla. I worked at this mill until 1861. In 1859, I went out to the Boundary Survey with two companies of infantry soldiers who came from The Dalles; we met Captain McClellan at Okanogan Lake. I stayed there several weeks, until September or October, and wintered at Walla Walla. In my work for the sutler

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15 There is a bridge across the stream at this point at the present time. The place is known as Smith's ford.

16 The incident of the note is not mentioned in any other account of Qualchien's capture and execution.

17 Before leaving this camp a detail was sent out to the Steptoe battlefield to bring in the remains of the officers and men killed there, and some government property buried and abandoned in the retreat.

department, I was frequently in and out of Fort Colville while they were building the post. A road was made from Walla Walla, following the old traveled Indian trails. There was a camp on this road on Cow Creek, three or four miles below the lower end of Sprague Lake, named after Major Pickney Lougenbeel and called the Lougenbeel Camp, or Lougenbeel Springs.

Fort Colville was the supply point for the boundry survey, and I was back and forth frequently taking supplies to the Okanogan Country. They were just starting to build the army post then. The town of Pinckney City[18]—now Colville—was not yet started when I wsa first there. At the crossing of the Spokane River, Bill Nix had established a ferry, Nix had come up from The Dalles with Lougenbeel's command for the purpose of establishing the ferry; the troops helped him put it in. I first met Jim Monaghan at this ferry, I think in 1859; he afterwards bought out the ferry this was afterwards known as LaPray bridge. This was known in early days as the "winding ford." At the Hudson Bay trading post on Marcus Flats and about Fort Colville, in 1859, I frequently met old Angus McDonald, who was in charge of the trading post.

I recall one family in the Colville Valley in the fifties named Pelliseers; they were Canadian-French. I also knew some of the Finlays. I don't recall the names of many of the whites and half-breeds then settled in the Colville Valley. Most everybody was called by their first name in those days—Bill, John, or by a nickname, as Slim. I don't remember many of the surnames. I think that there was a half-breed or Frenchman living in the Valley by the name of John Brown.[19]

In 1861, I went over to the Flathead Reservation in Montana and worked for John Owens, the Indian Agent. In the fifties there were no settlers in the Spokane Country except LePlant and Peone. In fact, I don't remember any other settlers north of the Snake River in 1858, except about Colville. Antone LePlant in 1862 and 1863 was on the north side of the Spokane River, near what is now Trent, a little ways back from the river. In 1861 I was at Peone's place—stopped there one or two nights, when on my way back and forth from the Flathead Indian Agency. The headquarters for the Indian department of the Territory of Washington were then at Salem, Ore-

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[18] Northeast from the present town of Colville.

[19] This John Brown has not been identified. Governor I. I. Stevens mentioned a Louis Brown, and John V. Campbell, to Spokane in 1854, in Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1916, notes a Henry Brown. The latter had a son named John Brown, since deceased, who would appear to have been too young to be the person referred to by Mr. Smith.

gon. I remember once John Owens, the Flathead Agent, sent a lot of buffalo tongues by me to the agent at Salem. A dog got in the tent and ate them all up, on my way to Oregon. I think a nam named Nesbit was the Indian Agent at Salem in those days.

In 1863, I went back to Walla Walla and started to freight by pack mules from Walla Walla to Florence, Idaho. In the fall of that year, I went to the gold rush on the Caribou, on the headwaters of the Fraser River, in British Columbia. In 1864, I returned to Walla Walla and resumed freighting by pack mules. I freighted into Boise, Idaho; into Wild Horse Creek, in the Kootenai Country, in B. C. My route was north from Walla Walla, across the Snake River; I crossed the Spokane River at Cowley's bridge, crossed the Pend Oreille at Sinacquetene Ferry,[20] crossed the Kootenai at Bonners Ferry,[21] and thence on to the Wild Horse. I continued in the freighting business until I married, in 1868.

At Walla Walla, on February 8, 1868, I married Mandy Warren, a sister of Joe Warren. We had 12 children: Frank, Hugh, Fred, James, Eugene, Genevieve, Nettie, Flesha, Maud, Laura, Minnie and Madge. After my marriage I settled down to farming on the Touchet River for two years. In 1870 or 1871 we moved to Cow Creek at a point about 14 miles from the Snake River, and about eight miles from the falls of the Palouse. In the winter of '78 or '79 I saw these falls entirely frozen.

On Cow Creek my trading place was Walla Walla, 72 miles away. My nearest neighbors were George Lucus, two miles north on Cow Creek; Tom Turner, eight miles east; Al. Hooper, seven miles, and his brother, Ernest, southeast 10 miles, and a man named Korst, about 12 miles north. Cow Creek is the outlet of Sprague Lake. The Colville Road went up Cow Creek, north of my place. There was a camping place on the road south and east of Sprague Lake; another at Willow Springs; another west of Deep Creek on Coulee Creek, just below the forks; from there the road went to LaPray's bridge.

In the spring of 1879, I came to Spokane County and settled on a homestead in Coulee Precinct—about 18 miles west of the City of Spokane, Sec. 4, Twn. 26 N., R. 40, E. W. M. I lived there continuously for 36 years, until I sold out to Mr. S. S. Clark.

I helped organize the school district in that section—what is now known as the East Crescent School, District 81. Wm. Cit, a neighbor

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20 Then operated by Guy Haines.
21 Established and operated by Ed. Bonner.

of mine on Coluee Creek, had also been with Colonel Wright's command in the Spokane Country in 1858.

In 1879, Deep Creek, the site of the present town, was the principal town and trading place in the county. Mr. Eades kept the store; there was also a settlement at Medical Lake; there was a Frenchman there, La Fave, whom I had known in California; Pete LeBree was a nephew. Spokane was then a small place; I do not recall who kept the store at Spokane in 1879 and 1880.

I met and personally knew old Dr. John McLoughlin at Salem, Oregon, in the fifties. When I was sick down there he doctored me. I met his son, David McLoughlin, at Walla Walla in 1858 or 1859 when he was raising a company of men to go to the Caribou gold diggings on Fraser River. This David McLoughlin left a family at Port Hill, Idaho. A grandson, John McLoughlin, was named after the Doctor. I met the two Eells boys in Walla Walla in 1859 or 1860. My wife's sister married Henry Spaulding, who was born at the Lapwai Mission. I knew old man Pambrum, chief factor for the Hudson's Bay Company at Walla Walla and his family.

In 1863 and 1864, when freighting to Wild Horse, I used to go over the old "Kentuck" trail. A cut-off on the Mullan road from near Rock Creek—north of Sprague—to what is now known as Spokane Bridge on the Spokane River, close to the Idaho state line. This went over Moran Prairie, and down on the west side of the Saltese Lake. I used to camp at the head of the lake. Old Saltese used to live there then; I knew him. The trail got its name "Kentuc Trail" and "Kentuck Cut-off," I think from a road house or eating house built on the trail, east of Hangman Creek.

The old Mullan road and the Colville road were the only roads in the Spokane Country in early days. There was a road house or stopping place on Cow Creek in the sixties, kept by a Frenchman. The Mullan road branched off from the Colville road near the crossing of Cow Creek; it crossed Hangman's Creek five or six miles south of where old man Jackson lived—Jackson was a Canadian-Frenchman and he had a grown half-breed son; in 1860 and 1861 they lived at what was then called French Prairie or Jackson's Prairie. From there the Mullan road came down across Moran Prairie and out on to the gravel prairie of the Spokane River, near what is now "Union Park" in the City of Spokane.

I first met Dan Drumheller in 1868 or 1869. He used to be around Touchet Creek when I lived there. I first met David M.

Coonce in 1871 or 1872. He was a caution. He used to freight with oxen from White Bluffs. The Indians stood in awe of him.

I knew Guy Haines of Walker's Prairie.[22] He settled there in 1853 or 1854, and lived there until he died. His son, Charlie Haines, still lives there. His postoffice address is Springdale, or Ford, Washington. Guy Haines had been a member of Governor I. I. Steven's party; he was with McClellan at Kettle Falls, and was at Camp Washington. I met Haines on the Boundary Line Survey and made the trip to the Caribou country with him in 1863. About June 1, 1908, Professor Gilstrap, O. B. Gilstrap and another man came to my farm and asked me if I knew anything about the old ruins of old Spokane House. I told them, no, and referred them to my neighbor, Wolleweber, and to my old friend, Guy Haines, of Walker's Prairie, telling them that the latter came through the country with Captain McClellan and Governor Stevens' parties in 1853.

On October 28th, I attended the ceremonies at the erection of the monument for Camp Washington, on Four Mound Prairie. In speaking, Mr. O. B. Gilstrap asserted that my old friend Francis Wolf[23] had been on that site with Stevens, and was the only living witness. In the presence of Professor McCormick, Wolleweber, myself and some others, Wolf emphatically stated that he had not been there with Stevens.

Guy Haines had previously told me that the site of Camp Washington was at the forks of Coulee Creek; the next day after the unveiling of the monument I went to visit my old friend Haines. He said that the Gilstraps had been to see him, but had not mentioned to him anything about the site of Camp Washington, or of their intention to erect a monument at the site. He said that all they had ever asked him about was concerning the ruins of old Spokane House, concerning which he could give them no information. Guy Haines told me that he told the Gilstraps concerning the movements of the Stevens party, substantially as follows:

"We left camp at Chamokane Mission, keeping the great Colville-Walla Walla trail over the hill and sand flats, down to the Spokane River; crossing at the winding ford (Island); up the other bluff

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22 Haines settled on part of the old Walker-Eells' mission site and probably bought out the squatter's right of Solomon Pelitier mentioned by Governor Stevens as living on the mission site in 1853.

23 Francis Wolfe had an adventurous life. Enlisting in the regular army in 1849, he came to the coast in 1852. In 1853, he was one of the command sent out to meet Governor Stevens at Fort Benton. For some time he was with Lieutenant Mullan east of the Rockies. He later became a noted pioneer settler of Stevens County, settling in the Colville Valley, where he died on June 24, 1909, after 50 years' residence in that section of the state.

on the south side and straight on to the forks of Coulee Creek, where they stopped and waited for the westbound Donaldson party, and celebrated."

Further, Haines stated that "We never came near Four Mound Prairie."

Guy Haines died a short time after my visit to him. He had told me, years before, that the old camping ground of the Stevens party was on the flat just east of the forks of Coluee Creek. This is about five and a half miles west of where the monument was placed. The old Colville road to Walla Walla crossed Coulee Creek at this point. The old Indian trail crossed Coulee Creek about half a mile east of this point, which was selected as a wagon road crossing on account of the better grade in and out of Coluee Canyon at the forks of the creek.

JOHN E. SMITH.

ALASKA UNDER THE RUSSIANS—INDUSTRY, TRADE AND SOCIAL LIFE*

When the management of the Russian American Company passed into the hands of Hagemeister the first charter was about to expire.[1] Captain Vasili N. Golovnin was sent on the *Kamchatka* to Sitka in 1817, to audit the accounts and make a statement of the condition of the affairs. His report was very unfavorable to Baranof, both personally and in regard to his business methods,[2] although he seems personally to have pretended friendship for him.

The trade carried on by the American ship captains among the Indians of the Alexander Archipelago, the Sounds as the Russians termed it, had long troubled the Company. Baranof had turned it to account by buying the cargoes and thus removing the competition.

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*This is the second of two articles by Mr. Andrews entitled, Alaska Under the Russians. The first article was published in this Quarterly for July, 1916, under the sub-title of Baranof the Builder.—Editor.

1 In the preparation of this article I have drawn chiefly from the following sources:

Khlebnikof, K., in **Zhizneopisanie Aleksandra Andreevicha Baranova,** [Biography of Alexander Andreevich Baranof.] St. Petersburg, 1853. There is a copy in the Governor's office at Sitka, and one in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. Klebnikof was the chief of the counting-house at Sitka under the Chief Managers following Baranof, remaining until about 1832. On the "Blarney Stone" at Sitka, are his initials, "K. KH. 1832."

Tikhmenef, P., **Istoricheskoe Obozrenie Obrazovanie Rossiiski Amerikanskoe Kompanii** [Historical Review of the Organization of the Russian American Company.] St. Petersburg, 2 vols. Vol. I, 1861; vol. II, 1863. In Governor's office and in Bancroft Library.

Materiali diya Isotrii Russkikh Zaselenii po bergegam vostochnavo okeana. [Materials for the History of the Russian Settlements on the Shores of the Eastern Ocean.] St. Petersburg, 1861. In 4 parts. The 1st part is by V. M. Golovnin; the 2nd part by Captain-Lieutenant Golovnin; the 3d part by K. Khlebnikof; the 4th part consists of extracts from the writings of Golovnin, Khlebnikof, Lutke, Lazaref and others. In Governor's office and in Bancroft Library. V. M. Golovnin was an officer of the Russian navy who came to Sitka in the sloop Diana, the first Russian ship of war to visit the colonies, in 1810. He returned in 1817 in the sloop Kamchatka. A copy of the voyage of 1815-'19 is in library of the University of Washington at Seattle. Captain Golovnin, a naval officer, was sent in 1861 to make a report on the condition of the colonies. More complete description of the **Materiali** will be found in Bancroft, **History of Alaska,** pp. 515-16.

Davidof, Gavrila I., **Dvuknoe putashestvie v' Ameriku Morskik Ofitzerof Khvostova i Davidova, pisannoe sim poslyednim** [Two Voyages in America by Naval Officers Khvostof and Davidof, written by the latter.] St. Petersburg, 1819. In two parts. Translated by Ivan Peterof. In Bancroft Library.

Markof, A., **Russkie na Vostochnom Okean Puteshestvie Al Markova** [Russians on the Eastern Ocean Voyage of Al. Markof.] St. Petersburg, 1856. In Bancroft Library.

Veniaminof [Bishop John.] **Zapiski ob Ostrovakh Oonalaskinskago Otdiela** [Letters Concerning the Islands of the Unalaska District.] St. Petersburg, 1840, 2 vols. In Bancroft Library. The same is found in another edition in the library of the University of Washington, at Seattle.

Morskl Sbornik [Marine Miscellany.] St. Petersburg, 1848, **et seq.** Translation in Bancroft Library.

2 "In 1790, the merchant Baranof, who for 27 years after governed the country, was created Collegiate Councillor, and received the Cross of St. Anne, 2nd Class, and became famous on account of his long residence among the savages, and still more so because he, while enlightening, grew wild himself, and sank to a degree below the savage."—Golovnin, in **Materilali,** (Petrof trans.), part i, p. 53; Tikhmenef, part i, p. 244.

The naval officers who were now at the head of affairs, in order to discredit Baranof's methods and also to remove this opposition, prevailed on the Russian government in 1821 to issue an ukase forbidding foreign vessels coming within 100 miles of the shore under penalty of forfeiture.[3]

In 1821, a new charter was granted to the Company, with much the same terms as the previous one, but under it the Chief Manager must be selected from staff officers of the Russian navy. A clause provided that they might trade at sea with neighboring nations.[4] The trade with China by sea afterwards being opened threw into their hands practically a monopoly of the tea trade, which had previously been conducted by caravans overland to Russia by the way of Kiachta.

The result of the prohibition of the American trade was a loss to the Company, for the freign boats delivered goods at Sitka for less than they could be brought from Russia by the Company. Freight from Russia across Siberia was from 540 to 630 silver rubles per ton, and by the Company's ships from Kronstad was from 193 to 254 silver rubles per ton. The Hudson's Bay Company's boats carried goods from England to the colony for 50 to 78 rubles.[5]

The United States, though its ambassador, protested against the order, and in 1824 a treaty[6] was made by which American boats were entitled to the right to trade on the coast, but after 1832 they were not able to maintain themselves against the Russian American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, and they withdrew.[7]

The Russian American Company had now become settled firmly in the country. The fur trade was in regular channels, as established and organized in past years, ships passed between the Russian ports and Sitka, mechanics and artisans plied their trade, the officers and employes brought their families, and the trading post became a community where every one had a part in the life and moved in well ordered channels.

The administration of the colonies consisted of the Chief Manager, the Board of Directors, and the Accounting Department.

The Chief Manager was appointed by his Imperial Majesty from candidates pesented by the Company, who must be selected from staff

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3 Tikhmenef, I, App., 27; **Alaska Boundary Tribunal,** Case of the United States, App., p. 25.

4 Second Charter of the Russian American Company, 1821.

5 Tikhmenef, part i, pp. 371-72.

6 Treaty of Auril 17, 1824.

7 Boundary Case of the United States, p. 266. Report of Chief Manager Wrangell, April 28, 1834. Lazaref, Voyage, 1822-24, in **Materiali.**

officers of the naval service. Their term of office was five years and they were to reside in New Archangel.

The head office of the Company was in St. Petersburg and there the Board of Directors held their meetings. The chief of the Accounting Department had his office in Sitka, in the building at present occupied by the United States postoffice.

There were no courts of law in the colonies, but the chief manager had the power to decide minor offences according to police regulations, or to refer them to a special commission whose decision was final, and send a report of the penalty imposed to the general administration of the Company.

In criminal cases he might refer the cases to the Colonial Administration Council, or to a special commission appointed by him, which, in case of inability to agree, might transfer the proceedings to the nearest court of justice in Russia. This proceeding held good in military cases where the crimes did not come within the common military law.

He had the power to appoint and remove, and to regulate the salaries of the commanders of vessels, chiefs of the colonial affairs selected by him, clerks, etc. He was required to prevent any trading in furs, walrus tusks, or other product to which the Company had the exclusive right. He was also to see to the education and training of the children at the Company's expense. His yearly accounts were to contain full information of the condition of the colony, the natives, Creoles, hospitals, educational establishments, fur-trade, agricultural and domestic enterprises, and also the requirements of goods, materials, and provisions, of the work accomplished and the buildings constructed.

The produce of the settlers was to be purchased at their own prices, but furs according to an established price list. Special care was enjoined that in assigning land to colonial citizens that the rights of the settled natives were not to be encroached upon, and that the citizens support themselves without oppressing the natives.[8]

The population of Sitka in 1818 was 190 Russians and 72 Creoles.[9] There were also 173 Aleuts at the port. In 1863, on January 1st, there were 978 Russians and Creoles.[10] Of these there were 150

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8 Regulations of the Russian American Company. See **Tikhemenef**, part II, App., p. 37, **et seq.**

9 Of these there were 110 Russian and Creole women. See Khlebnikof, in **Materiali**, part III, p. 20.

10 Of the Russians 418 were men and 50 were women. See Tikhmenef, **II**, 244.

Creoles who were considered as Russian subjects, and as having the rights of the class of tradesmen, unless granted the privileges of some other class for special merit. Those who distinguished themselves by industry and capability might be granted the same privileges enjoyed by other Russian subjects in the Company's service. They were legally defined as being the offspring of Europeans or Siberians and American (native) women, or of Americans and Europeans and Siberian women, and their children remained in the same class.[11]

Those who were educated in the colonies by the Company were required to serve in the Company's pay for not less than 15 years, counting from their 17th year. Those taken to Europe and educated at the expense of the Company in the higher schools, and who received appointments as pharmacists, military or civil officers, etc., could not leave the service of the Company for 10 years, but received a salary and subsistence during that time. Those trained as mechanics in Russia were required to give 10 years' service.

In the service of the Company were many Creoles who occupied responsible positions as masters and officers of vessels, in clerkships and other situations. The illegitimate Creole children were brought up at the expense of the Company.

The native tribes were divided into two classes, the settled natives, comprising the inhabitants of the islands of Kodiak, the Aleutian group, those of the American coast as the Kenaitze, Chugach and others; and the unsettled, or wild tribes.

The settled natives were considered as Russian subjects and formed a separate class, subject to the Russian laws and entitled to government protection, but not required to pay taxes or tribute. They were required to sell their furs to the Company and must render service to them as hunters, etc., on certain terms. The hunters worked under a Russian *peredovchik* or foreman, were furnished with bidarkas, and other implements; the furs they secured were shared with the Company, and were sold to them at a price fixed by the management. They were paid entirely in trade at the Company's stores. When they came in from the hunt they delivered the equipment to the *bidarschik*, or officer who took charge of them, stretched and dried their skins and delivered them to the magazines, and took their credit to trade at the store. There they bought cotton prints, calico, gray and blue, blue Chinese cloth, frieze blankets, snuff-boxes, tobacco, tea, sugar, etc., or anything that might suit a savage taste. They always gave some-

11 Tikhmenef, II, App. 55.

thing to the church, generally furs, which the priest sold to the Company's stores at a special price given to them.[12]

They were governed by their *toyons*,[13] or chiefs, under the surveillance of elders appointed by the colonial government from the trusted employes of the Company.

Over the wild natives, as the Kolosh and the tribes of the interior of Alaska, they exercised but little control. Their intercourse with these, outside of the Sitka kwan,[14] being chiefly limited to securing their trade on the best possible terms. In 1821 the Sitkas reestablished their village near the old site; by the time of Etolin's administration, in 1840, they became more friendly, and he promoted the friendship by various means. He held a fair at Sitka, something after the custom of Russia at Nizhne Novgorod, where they might bring their furs; and he employed the young men as sailors and laborers.[15] The lease of the right to the fur trade on the mainland to the Hudson's Bay Company, lost to the Russians the trade of that region, and in later years, through the Hudson's Bay Company selling liquors to them, and the mismanagement of Chief Manager Rudakof, many of the other kwans among the islands became estranged and went to the British posts.

The garrison at Sitka was 180 men of the Siberian battallion and about the same number of man-of-war sailors. The soldiers were employed at various occupations, some in attendance on the officers, others cared for the cattle, or followed trades, as joining, coopering, blacksmithing, etc.; they worked on the fortifications and cut timber in the forests. The last was preferred to any other as the life in the woods appealed to the most of them. Many did work for which they received extra pay and thus added to their meager income, which was 440 rubles per year, in scrip worth about 20c per ruble, including all allowances.

Their uniforms consisted of pants, cloak, and necktie, which were furnished by the military commander of Siberia, and paid for by the Company. For other clothing they paid cash. The lower classes of soldiers did not wear uniform, and their allowance for same and other

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12 Regulations of the Russian American Company. See Tikhmenef, II, App., pp. 56, **et seq.**

13 **Toyon**, a Yakut word, brought from Siberia by the Russians. See Davidof, II, 113.

14 "Besides the general appellation of Thlinkit, the Kolosh have other local names, for instance, the Sitka call themselves **Sitkakwan.**"—Veniaminof, **Zapiski**, etc., part iii, p. 28.

15 Khlebnikof, **Materiali**, part iv, p. 102.

equipment, amounting to 27 rubles 44 kopeks per annum was credited to them.

They were given one meal per day at the public kitchen, consisting of a stew of salt or fresh fish, or of beef boiled with vegetables. They were allowed to take food to the barracks and warm it on the stoves for other meals, and about their quarters at any time of day might be seen kettles, pots, and pans, simmering over the fires.

With all the meagerness of pay and allowances but few soldiers were indebted to the Company, in fact nearly all had something to their credit. On July 1, 1860, their credits were 57,030 rubles, scrip, or about $11,400, and an additional amount of 22,592 rubles on uniform account. Many had from 700 to 1,000 rubles, and two had nearly 2,000 rubles, or $400 each.

They kept watch and ward eternally against the Kolosh. Six posts of two men each as sentries guarded the town day and night, and two were stationed on each ship in the harbor. In spring and summer reveille was beaten at four in the morning, and tattoo at nine at night. From tattoo, throughout the night, signals were called at every half hour, and a patrol inspected all posts and visited all the ships in the harbor.

Notwithstanding these precautions, at times, Indian spies entered the town and even climbed into the old ship *Amethyst,* lying dismantled on the beach near the Indian town, and stole material and carried it away.[16]

There were about 60 guns in the batteries and fortifications and 87 stored in the arsenal and other places about the harbor, from 80 pound mortars to falconets.[17]

When Hagemeister assumed the management of the Company in 1818, he found many of the buildings were decaying, and he made extensive improvements and built some buildings, including a blockhouse. His successor, Yanovski, built a blockhouse, a wharf with a dock, and a windmill.

Mouravief from 1821-26 built a new house for the manager on the *kekoor,* or Baranof Hill, a blockhouse in the upper fort, a battery of eight guns on the water front, and other buildings.

Before 1833 there were built at the Ozerskoe Redoubt, ten miles southwest of Sitka, a blockhouse with eight guns, a stockade, barracks, flouring mill, granary, tannery, fishery, etc.[18]

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16 Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, pp. 61, **et seq.**
17 Tikhmenef, part ii, p. 328.
18 Khlebnikof, in **Materiali, part iii, p. 96.**

Most of the buildings transferred to the United States were constructed between 1835 and 1850:[19] the Baranof Castle about 1836,[20] the Clubhouse by Etolin in 1840, and the Cathedral of St. Michael was dedicated in 1848.[21]

Sawmills were constructed at an early date. Baranof had one at Voskressenski Bay in 1793[22] to saw the lumber from the *Phoenix*. Resanof ordered one from Russia when he was at Sitka in 1806.[23] In 1860, there were two mills at Sitka, one in the town and one on Serebrennikof Bay, on the Kirenski River (Sawmill Creek), four miles up the bay to the east. The mill in the town used both water and steam power, and had in connection with the plant a planing machine, machinery for sach and cornices, and for shingle-making. The saws were from eighteen to forty-eight inches in diameter. The steam plank saw has 25 saws and was of 30 horse power. The mill at Sawmill Creek used water power, had 20 saws, and was constructed under the administration of Manager Tebenkof.

Two flouring mills ground the breadstuffs brought from California and Chile. One of these was in the town of Sitka and the other at the Ozerskoe Redoubt. The one in the town was run by water power, and had stones of the finest French burr. The stones for the other mill were of granite, quarried and cut on the shores of Globokoe Lake.[24]

A storehouse held the *lavtaks* or seal and seal lion skins, used for making bidarkas, and a tannery prepared the hides of various kinds. Hides of cattle from California were tanned in Sitka for sole leather, and among the shipments of Hutchinson Kohl & Co., from there to San Francisco in 1867-8 were large quantities of leather of all kinds.[25]

A shop for repair of nautical instruments, a smithy, joiner shop, cooper shop, and a bakery, provided for the needs of the community on those lines, while a ropewalk and sail loft made necessary articles for the vessels.

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19 United States Record of Public Buildings.

20 "The present very substantial house erecting for the Governor and his establishment, is about 140 feet in length, by 70 feet wide, of two good stories, with lofts, capped by a lighthouse in the center of the roof."—Sir Edward Belcher, Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, 1836-42, (London, 1843), p. 96.

21 Church Records of Sitka.

22 "Dwellings were first put up and a rude sawmill erected over a small stream wtih considerable waterpower."—Tikhmenef (translation in Bancroft Library), II, App., 86.

23 Resanof in a letter dated February 15, 1806, at Sitka, in Tikhmenef, II, App., 240.

24 Golovnin, in **Materiali**, part ii, pp. 72-73.

25 Customs Records of Alaska for 1868.

A well equipped brass and iron foundry, with a machine shop in connection, occupied a place to the east of the church, and there were constructed and repaired the engines for the steam vessels, of which several were built between 1839 and 1867. The machinery for the tug "Muir," of seven horse power, as well as the hull, and two pleasure boats of two horse power each, were the product of the local workmen before 1841.[26] The workmen were Russians and Creoles, and every master had a number of Creole boys for apprentices. Many of these made good workmen as they had a quick perception and a natural inclination for mechanical pursuits.[27]

Many articles for export were made in the shops and foundry. The first bell was cast in Kodiak in 1793, under the direction of Baranof, and it was of a weight of 208 pounds.[28] Plowshares and spades were made and shipped to the California market,[29] and among the exports from Sitka, in 1868, were two shipments of bells, one of eight in number, aggregating 2,500 pounds, and the other of five.[30]

Out of the tallow brought from the colony of Ross candles were made, more than 120 poods (4,320 lbs.) being used for the purpose each year. These were furnished to the officials for their use, each receiving 30 per month from September to May, and half that number during the rest of the year.

Bricks were made in the colonies, mostly in Kodiak or in Nicolofsky. The clay at Sitka was not in sufficient quantities for use for the purpose.[31] The first that were made in Alaska were by Baranof at Kodiak, about 1795, and out of these 1,500 were shipped to Shelikof at Okhotsk.[32]

Charcoal was prepared in large quantities, and kilns were kept burning continuously, each occupying about 15 days' time to complete, and yielding from 70 to 150 baskets of the coals.[33] A great deal was used to smoke the rats out of the ships before sending them to sea with cargoes.

The charter gave the Company the right to the minerals in the earth, although little use was made of the privilege of mining. Baranof found deposits of iron ore, and endeavored for years to reach

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26 Sir George Simpson, Narrative of a Journey Round the World, During the Years 1841 and 1842, (London, 1847, 2 vols.), II, 189.

27 Tikhmenef, part ii, p. 330; Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, p. 73.

28 Baranof to Shelikof, May 20, 1795, in Tikhmenef, II, 94.

29 **Materiali,** part iii, pp. 96-97.

30 Customs Record of Alaska, 1868.

31 Khlebnikof, in **Materiali,** part iii, p. 99.

32 Baranof to Shelikof, May 20, 1795, in **Tikhmenef,** II, App., 95.

33 **Ibid., p. 100.**

the native copper deposits of the Copper River, which he understood to be on the headwaters.[34]

In 1848, the Company sent out the mining engineer Doroshin, who made investigations along the coast from Baranof Island to Cook Inlet. He found limestone on Sitka (Baranof) Island; coal; "a kind of earth indicating diamonds"[35] at Kootznahoo; coal and graphite on Kodiak Island; and coal and some gold on Cook Inlet. The coal was developed at what was known as English Bay (Port Graham); drifts of 1687 feet in depth were made in 1857 and ensuing years; machinery was installed; and 500 tons were sent to California for a commercial experiment. From 1857 to 1860, 2,700 tons of coal were produced, most of which was used on the Company's steamers, as the California venture had proved unprofitable. During 1860 a fire destroyed the buildings and retarded the work which was not very vigorously prosecuted thereafter.

In 1863, a contract was projected with Halmar Furuhelm, a mining engineer, by which they were to turn over to him the mining resources, but as the Company did not secure a new charter, the contract was not made.[36]

Shipbuilding was carried on in the colonies from 1793 until the close of the Russian occupation. The shipyard at Voskressenski (Resurrection) Bay was in use but a short time. There does not seem to be any record of any building being done there after the construction of the *Phoenix* in 1794, as the *Delphin* and the *Olga* were built at Elovoi (Spruce) Island in 1795, near St. Paul's Harbor[37]; the *Yermak* and the *Rostislaf* at Yakutat, and after the establishment of Novo Arkangelsk the shipyard was at that place. An American named Lincoln built the first vessel on the ways, the brig *Sitka,* and received as his pay the sum of 2,000 rubles. He rebuilt the old ship *Alexander;* in June, 1807, he laid the keel of the *Otkrietie,* which was launched July 16, 1808; the same year he began the construction of the *Chirikof,* and repaired the *Juno,* an American ship bought by Resanof in 1805.

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34 "It has long been my intention to collect some of the American copper on Copper River, but until now the Lebedef troubles have prevented it, and I don't know how soon it will be possible."—Baranof to Shelikof, May 20, 1795, in **Tikhmenef,** II, 94. "The exploration of Copper River, or the locality where native copper is found, was the constant object of Baranof's life." Davidof, part ii, p. 139. One of his men went 300 versts up the river, going up the east fork where the rich deposits have since been found but secured nothing. On a second trip he was killed by the natives "for appropriating a copper colored maiden."—Ibid.

35 Tikhmenef, II, 249; Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, p. 108.

36 **Doklad Komiteta** [Report of the Committee], (St. Petersburg, 1861), p. 583.

37 **Zhizneopisanie,** p. 25.

When Lincoln left the employ of the Company, in 1809, the construction of new vessels ceased for a term of years.[38]

In 1807, the *Myrtle* was purchased of Captain Barber and renamed the *Kadiak;* and in 1808, the Russian Government ship *Neva* was transferred to the Company; in 1813 the *Lady* and the *Atahualpa* were bought of Americans and were afterward known as the *Ilmen* and the *Bering.* The ship *Amethyst* was also secured.

A number of ships were built at Okhotsh for the Company, among them the *Maria,* the *Aktzia, Polyfem, Sitka,* etc., and in later years others were constructed at Abo, Finland.

At Ross Colony, Grudinin, who had worked with Lincoln at Sitka, built from the California live oak, the galotte *Rumiantzof* in 1816-18; the brig *Buldakof* in 1819-20; the brig *Volga* in 1821-22; and the *Kiachta* in 1823-24[39] The *Brutus* and the *Lapwing* were purchased in 1818, and the brig *Arab* in 1824. In 1825, they owned 10 vessels, of which there were three of American build, one Mexican, and one from Okhotsk, three built in Ross, one in Sitka, and the remaining one was from Finland.[40]

In the year 1827 construction was resumed at the Sitka ways and the *Unalaska, Bobr, Sivutch, Karluk* and *Aleut,* small coasting boats, were launched. In 1829, the *Ourup* of 300 tons was commenced, the *Lady Wrangel,* a retimbered American boat, was put in service, and from 1839 to 1841, the brig *Promissel,* the steamer *Nikolai I,* the steam tug *Muir,* and two pleasure boats propelled by steam were built. The steam tug *Muir* would seem to be the first steam vessel to be entirely constructed on the northwest coast of America, and thus to the Russians belongs the honor of building the first sailing ship and also the first steam vessel in the Alaskan waters.[41]

Shipbuilding continued at Sitka until the close of the Russian regime and the *Politofsky,* so well known on the western coast, was one of the last to be constructed there.

Agriculture was one of the minor industries of the colonies, for fur gathering was the great and all-absorbing pursuit, but gardens were raised at all the main stations. At Sitka about 1,000 barrels of potatoes were produced, on the best crops; they were used for home consumption and to provision vessels coming to the harbor.[42] American trading ships and Russian men-of-war purchased as much as 100 bar-

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38 **Materiali,** part iii, p. 12.
39 **Id.,** p. 145.
40 **Id.,** p. 101.
41 Tikhmenef, II, 330.
42 Khlebhikof, in **Materiali,** part iii, p. 127.

rels at a time from the inhabitants. The work in the gardens for the Company was done by the Aleuts, who were paid at the rate of a ruble a day for the service, and potatoes, turnips, lettuce, and cabbage, with cucumbers, etc., in hotbeds, were the principal products. Potatoes were also produced by the Kolosh and by them sold to the Russians and to the trading vessels along the sounds between the islands.[43]

About 10 cows were usually kept at Sitka for milking; the hay for their food was cut in the natural meadows at the head of the inlets about Katleanski Bay, and was brought to town in small boats. Chickens and pigs were kept at Sitka.[44] Ducks were brought to Unalaska in 1833, and multiplied rapidly. Goats were imported in 1825, but they annoyed the Aleuts by pasturing on the dirt roofs of their barabaras, so they were killed.[45]

The efforts to ripen grain were fruitless, and the breadstuffs were brought from California, from Chile, or were purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company in later year. In 1841, there were 30,000 poods (18,000 bushels) of wheat at Sitka, after supplying the other districts and sending 2,000 poods to Okhotsk.[46]

Of fish there was an abundance in the waters of the whole district. At Sitka the supply of salmon was largely procured from the Ozerskoe Redoubt, where a fishery was maintained, from which, in addition to the fish they consumed fresh, and preserved for use at the post, they salted from 300 to 500 barrels for sale each year. In 1858, there were 1,070 barrels salted. A thousand poods of salt were used each year in preparing the supply. For the ten years between 1850 and 1860 they took 70,000 fish per year there.[47]

On Kodiak Island most of the fish were taken at Karluk and a fishery was maintained there from the first year of the settlement at Three Saints. Here up to 1860 there was no use made of the salmon beyond drying it for *youkali,* of which product there was about 380,000 pounds prepared each year.[48]

Of halibut they took as much as 8,000 pounds in a month from the bay.

Game was brought to the Kolosh market, as the place constructed for traffic with the Thlinkits was called, by the natives and sold for

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43 Markof, p. 79.
44 Khlebnikof, in **Materiali,** part iii, p. 135.
45 Veniaminof, **Zapiski,** part iii, p. 74.
46 Tikhemenef, part i, p. 346.
47 **Ibid.,** part ii, p. 237.
48 Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, p. 105.

Russian goods; "a deer for five yards of calico," says Markof;[49] according to a list of prices fixed by the Chief Manager. Many deer and mountain goats were sold there, and during the winter of 1861-62, which was an exceptionally severe season, there were 2,774 animals brought there.[50]

An American ship, the *Bacchus,* came from San Francisco in 1852, to get a cargo of ice,[51] that used in California up to that time having been brought from Boston around Cape Horn. He loaded 250 tons, for which he paid $18,750.00, or $75.00 per ton. A company was then formed in San Francisco, called the American Russian Company, that entered into a contract with the Russian American Company to take 1,000 tons of ice yearly at the price of $35.00 per ton. This contract continued until 1855, and after that 3,000 tons were taken per year at $7.00 until 1860. Ice houses were built at Sitka, but ice not forming thickly enough at that place to produce the required amount, other houses were built at Wood Island, near Kodiak, with a capacity of 6,000 tons. The ice was broken and sawed by a special saw, worked by horsepower, and was handled by Kolosh laborers at Sitka, who received one ruble per day. The Russians and Aleuts did the work at Wood Island.[52] The American Company continued, for many years after the transfer to the United States to conduct a trading business on the western islands.

But little use of the timber was made by the Russians except in the construction of ships and buildings and for charcoal. Their exports were light, a cargo being taken to Chile in 1826 by Etolin, which was exchanged for breadstuffs.[53] Between 1852 and 1860, 8,416 logs were cut at Sitka.[54]

During the earlier years of the Company's business their trade was almost entirely with the natives, and was conducted with goods brought across Siberia from Russia, then shipped by sea from Okhotsk. The furs gathered were returned over the same route and a large part of them were sold to China through Kiakhta. In later years came the trade with English and American boats, exchanging furs for the goods they brought. In 1803-06, the first Russian boats came round the world and from thenceforward more or less merchandise was brought from Russia by sea. In 1806, Resanof took Russian goods to San

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49 Markof, p. 72.
50 Tikhmenef, II, 238.
51 Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, p. 189.
52 **Ibid.,** pp. 107; 124.
53 Tikhmenef, I, 346.
54 Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, p. 189.

Francisco, which he exchanged for breadstuffs and other food for the settlement at New Archangel. In 1817, Hagenmeister visited San Francisco to trade and to secure the release of Aleuts who had been captured from sea otter hunting vessels cruising along the coast by the Spanish. From this time forward this trade was continued, more for the purpose of procuring the necessary supplies than for trade purposes. In 1825, the brig *Kiakhta* traded goods of the value of 29,060 rubles and purchased provisions of the value of 29,803 rubles, which shows the general balance of the transactions.

With the Kolosh there was some traffic in furs, reaching its maximum between 1830 and 1840. During these years a trading vessel was sent each year through the channels from Lynn Canal to Portland Channel, to trade for peltry. In earlier years Chief Manager Mouravief had said: "The Company derives no profit from this trade, but it must be maintained in order to gain the friendship of the Kolosh and accustom them to intercourse with the Russians."[55]

After the lease to the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1840, of the right to the fur trade of the mainland from Portland Canal to Cape Spencer, the Russian trade with the natives of the islands decreased until it practically ceased. The causes were summed up by the historian of the Company as being: that rumors were spread by the rival company that the Russians had turned this trade over to them; that the British paid higher prices for furs and carried goods that were not to be had at Sitka; and that they sold liquors and firearms and ammunition in violation of the agreement of 1841[56]

The superior quality of the goods very probably had much to do with it, for the Hudson's Bay blanket was the standard all along the coast in the Indian trade, and to this day is preferred to any other.

In 1860, the Russian steamer *Nikolai I* was sent to trade in the straits between the islands, but secured upon the trip only 40 skins of poor quality, of various kinds, notwithstanding the prices offered were far higher than that paid at any post in the Company's dominion to other fur gatherers.

The trade in the north was also demoralized by the whalers, who sold to the Eskimos and the Chuckechees all kinds of goods, but principally firearms and intoxicating liquors, and secured much of the fur of that region. The managers of the Company asked to be permitted to use the same methods in dealing with the natives, and the auditor

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55 Khlebnikof, in **Materiali**, part II, p. 88.
56 Tikhmenef, II, 350.

for the Company, Golovnin, in his report in 1861, favored it being permitted.[57]

The early fur hunters, or *Promishileniki,* were a drinking set of men and, whenever the opportunity presented itself, would drink up everything they possessed. Some of them would barter their clothing for drink and then be carried to the ship naked to begin their voyage. As the organization of the Company became more complete; when authority was better recognized; when a different class of men were employed, drinking decreased. In 1841, the Company's Regulations forbade the sale except in small quantities, and under certain restrictions, and an agreement was made with the Hudson's Bay Company by which sales to the Indians were forbidden.

The Americans frequented the coast and sold intoxicants, and to this the Russians objected. In 1829, the American bark *Volunteer,* under Captain Charles Taylor, sailed to Kyganie, traded with the Indians, they became drunken, a quarrel arose in which an Indian was killed and the mate of the vessel badly wounded. They sailed for Sitka to get medical attention from the Russian surgeon, which was freely given, but the General Manager said: "If American gentlemen will sell arms, ammunition and liquors to the Indians, they must suffer the consequences."[58]

Rum was generally substituted for whiskey, and was issued to the employes at the rate of eight gills per year, at the Company's expense, on certain church holidays. In addition to this, the Chief Manager had a right to issue it after fatiguing labor and under urgent conditions, so the laboring classes received from one to two gills per week. To other inhabitants it was sold in limited quantities at established prices, but the lower employes only obtained it upon the written application of their immediate superior. The regulations for sale were frequently violated, for many would give exhorbitant prices for small quantities. For an example, a shoemaker would ask 30 or 35 rubles for a pair of boots, but would exchange them for a bottle of rum, worth to the Company's store the sum of three and a half rubles.[59] On the voyages made during the early years of the colony when all liquors were brought across Siberia by caravan, a liquor was brewed from different herbs, called *quass* by them and used as a preventive of scurvy.[60]

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57 Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, p. 113.

58 Jonathan S. Green, **Journal of a Tour on the Northwest Coast in 1829,** (New York, 1915.)

59 Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, p. 59.

60 "The hunters bought at Kamchatka sweet grass, cleaned nettles, and lambsquarter. The nettles were used as yarns for fishing nets, while the other two served to make a drink similar to quass, a good preventive against scurvy."—Golovnin, in Materiali, part i, p. 51, note.

Over the counter in the Company's store in New Archangel was a price list showing all the principal commodities kept for sale and the sales price to the people of the town. The prices were in the assignats or scrip of the colony, and were established by the Chief Manager.[61]

The money that was in use in the different posts was the scrip or credit checks of the Company, at first issued on walrus hide, afterward on slips of paper. The denominations were 10, 25, and 50 kopeks, and 1, 5, 10, and 25 rubles. In 1817, there were 17,000 rubles in circulation; as they became worn in traffic they were taken up, and in 1822, 30,000 rubles were issued, of which 6,000 were placed at Kodiak, and 3,000 at each of the posts of Ross and Unalaska.[62]

For the purpose of purchasing foodstuffs in California, and for other matters requiring coin, the Company kept a certain amount of the money of other countries, principally Spanish piastres, that were received from trading vessels and men-of-war that entered the port. For January, 1825, there is shown in the accounts the sum of 7,591 piastres, but these were not allowed to go out in circulation among the people.[63]

Among the Kolosh, tanned deer skins were used as currency. There were also among them much of the *hiaqua,* or small sea shell (*Dentalium*) used on Puget Sound as money by the Indians, and which they called *Tzukli.* This was bought by the Russians at about 30 rubles per 100 in 1825.[64]

Under the second and third charter the Company had a practical monopoly of the tea trade, and they transacted an immense business which yielded large profits. From 1821 to 1841 the amount of this commodity transported from China to Russia was 72,814 chests, valued at 9,316,342 rubles. Between 1835 and 1840 the profits were from 40 to 80 rubles, silver, per box, but in 1845 it had fallen to six rubles four kopeks, silver.[65]

At Sitka and at Kodiak hospitals were maintained, and of the one at Sitka, Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, said: "In its wards, and, in short, in all the requisite appointments, the institution in question would be no disgrace to England."[66] January 1, 1862, there were in the Company's service in the colonies, three doctors (one at Ayan), 11 apothecaries and sur-

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61 Khlebnikof, in **Materiali,** part iii, p. 92.
62 Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, p. 120; Khlebnikof, in **Id.,** part iii, p. 107; Dall, W. H., Alaska and Its Resources, p. 350.
63 Lutke, in **Materiali,** part iv, p. 148; Khlebnikof, in **Id.,** part iii, p. 107.
64 Khlebnikof, in **Materiali,** part iii, p. 90; Lutke, in **Id.,** part iv, p. 146.
65 Tikhmenef, I, p. 375; Golovnin, in **Materiali,** part ii, p. 121.
66 Simpson, **Journey, etc.,** II, 190.

geon's assistants, surgeon's and apothecaries' apprentices five, and two midwives and two assistants.[67]

During the first years of the settlement at Sitka scurvy was common during the winter, as conditions improved and food supplies became better it was eradicated, until 1853, when an epidemic of this complaint visited the town and of 64 persons attacked there were nine who died. Typhoid fever also came in the same year and 13 died. The measles caused the death of over 300 persons in the Company's dominion during 1848.

A terrible visitation of smallpox came in 1837-39, which killed thousands of the natives before they would permit vaccination. This scourge visited the country again in 1862, but owing to the efficient regulations enforced by the Company, only a few died and it did not go farther than to Sitka, coming from the southeast. During Etolin's administration 1,200 were vaccinated at Sitka, and during Furuhelm's management he sent to California for vaccine and distributed it at every station.[68]

Venereal disease was very prevalent for many years and caused the management much trouble. After the disease had been stamped out in the colonies it would be communicated to the inhabitants at Sitka by the Kolosh, who became infected from the crews of sailors who came trading along the shores. It was finally completely eradicated from all the westward posts and at Sitka was practically suppressed before the close of the Russian regime.[69]

The citizens of Sitka lived a busy and uneventful life. The occasions that disturbed the usual serenity of the quiet, beautiful village on the northern island were the arrival of ships from far-off Russia, their departure for the return voyage, or some great church festival.

Of church holidays there were many, and the chimes of the Cathedral of St. Michael rang out long and frequently on the spruce clad shores.

Ships with news from home and friends were few and far between. From 1849 to 1852 there were 14, an unusual number, for those were busy years and brought more than the quota of ordinary years, but in the preceding 45 years there were only 41 vessels that made the voyage.[70]

The Chief Manager lived in the mansion on the kekoor, in what was known as the Baranof Castle to Americans in later years, and at

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67 Tikhmenef, II, 245.
68 Golovnin, in **Materiali**, part ii, p. 89; Tikmenef, II, 243.
69 Golovnin, in **Materiali**, part ii, p. 86; Tikhmenef, II, 245; Surgeon's report, cruise of the Corwin, 1881, p. 17.
70 **Morski Sbornik**, November, 1852, p. 416.

his table sat the Captain of the port, the secretaries, and others of the higher class in the colony, who constantly dined with him by general invitation. The next lower class, for the Russians are exacting as to their grades of society both in law and in custom, were the civilian masters of vessels, the accountants, clerks, engineers, etc., who lived at the club that was organized by Etolin in 1840.[71]

The amusements were few and simple; boating on the waters of the beautiful harbor; quiet rambles along the road known as the Governor's Walk to the deep woods of the *Kolosh Reka,* or Indian River; perhaps a climb up the wooded slopes of Mt. Verstovia, among the masses of maidenhair fern, and the rest must be the social meetings among the people of the town.

Dinners were given in the mansion of the Chief Manager, at which there would be present the bishop and priests, the naval officers, the secretaries, the accountants, the clerks, masters of the vessels, etc., often to the number of 60 or 70 persons.[72] Every one dressed in his best and most were in uniform, for the employes were entitled to wear the uniform of the Department of Finance.

There were grand balls given at the mansion on the kekoor at which the dancing continued all the night until four in the morning. "Quadrilles and waltzing were kept up with great spirit, and I was not a little surprised to learn from our good friend and host, that many of the ladies then moving before us with easy and graceful air, had not an idea of dancing twelve months before," says one visitor.[73]

The first mistress of the mansion who came from Russia to Sitka was Lady Wrangell, and the wife of Chief Manager Kupreanof is said to have crossed Siberia to join him in the northern post among the islands.

Russian hospitality is world famous and the people of Sitka upheld the traditions of the race. Dinners, balls, and festivities of all kinds were frequent and the weddings were elaborate affairs, with a ceremony an hour and one-half in length.

The festival of Easter was one of the greatest of the many church holidays. All dressed in their finest apparel, attended the services in the church; where they stood throughout the entire ceremony; then they went about the town, carrying gilded eggs to present to their friends, and greeting them with the salutation, "Christ is risen."

The shipping in the harbor presented a busy scene with from ten to fifteen vessels at anchor or loading and discharging cargo at the

71 Tikhmenef, II, 244.
72 Simpson, **Journey, etc.,** II, 185.
73 Belcher, **Voyage, etc.,** I., 105.

wharf.[74] Ships were preparing for exploring voyages or loading furs for Okhotsk or Kronstad.

Before sailing the Chief Manager went on board for an inspection, the men and officers dressed in their finest uniforms, and every appointment was seen to be in perfect order. On the deck was a monk and two assistants to bless the ship before she sailed or her voyage; he sprinkled the flag with holy water, the company partook of a collation, and the tug took the ship slowly out through the Eastern passage between the spruce clad islands. There was a parting salute from the guns of the batteries; then the sails were spread to the winds that blow off the slopes of Edgecumb.

Then the people of New Archangel went back to their accustomed occupations, the sorting of furs, the work of the mills, the many homely tasks about the village, while the sentries walked their beats along the stockade.

C. L. Andrews.

[74] Simpson, Journey, etc., II, 198, gives a list of 13, in 1842.

BLACK TAMANOUS, THE SECRET SOCIETY OF THE CLALLAM INDIANS*

In the secret society known among the Clallam Indians as "Black Tamanous" is embodied one phase of Indian life which has been withheld from those who have persistently sought for knowledge of the customs of this primitive tribe. The secrecy which surrounded the doings of the Black Tamanous society forestalled any possibility of the public press giving to the world any information regarding it. Very few young men of this generation were admitted into the society; consequently, the number of those who have knowledge of the order and a disposition to disclose the secrets, as I am doing now, is small.

If you will pardon the allusion to myself in this connection, I wish to say that in all probability I am the youngest member living. At the age of seventeen I was initiated into the secrets of this order at a potlatch at Port Angeles. This was in 1893, just before the suspension of their meetings; but many years prior to this, while I was only a boy, I was made an honorary member by the Makah Indians at Neah Bay.

That I may not be accused of breaking faith with the society, some explanation is necessary at this juncture. As a race the Indian is passing away. The representatives yet remaining are fast becoming amalgamated with other races. As a whole, they have absorbed more of these vices than of the virtues of the conqueror; and the effects of these vices are evidenced by a general decrease of vitality, so general that the final outcome must be extinction. The trend of everything is away from the primitive; the time is not far distant when all that will remain of early Indian life will be found in the museum, the song, the story, or the historical records of the exterminators. For this reason I feel that I am not breaking my obligation in stating these facts concerning a society that has lost its existence, that I am justified in giving to the white race a description of the Black Tamanous with whatever of interest may attach thereto.

The summer was largely given to providing subsistence for the camp. After the provisions were laid by for winter, feasting and

*This paper was read before the Employees' Club of the Cushman Indian School. Mr. Williams, a Clallam Indian, is a member of the faculty of that school.—O. B. Sperlin.

dancing were indulged in with much zest. Whenever a person had accumulated a quantity of property, he invited all the near-by tribes to a potlatch. At these gatherings various games and entertainments were provided for the amusement of those in attendance. Whether or not the potlatch was especially advocated by the Black Tamanous society as one of its teachings would be impossible to state; but I do know that it was always a member of this society who financed the potlatch, and that during its extent secret sessions of the Black Tamanous were held, at which sons of illustrious and honorable men were initiated. One of those initiated was sure to be the son or relative of the man conducting the potlatch.

With all the objections brought against the potlatch as we see it from our viewpoint today, it had, nevertheless, some redeeming features. It prevented too much avarice, and the members of the tribe were taught to render respect and honor to him who had thus deprived himself of his goods to bestow them upon his friends, while he started life again with naught but their good will.

To return to the Black Tamanous: those to be initiated were selected by the leaders, but never from applications. No one in whose veins coursed tainted blood, that is, whose ancestors were slaves, was ever taken in. At the proper time, those selected for initiation were surprised by a crowd of men with blackened faces, and taken to a place where they were kept secluded from all but members. They were taught what to do and how to act during the performance before the assembly. Their faces were blackened also. This drilling continued for several days. The outsiders were led to believe that these young men were dead.

Many stories are told of how they killed those who were unable to follow instructions. The same fate was shared by those who dared to show antagonism to the order. Since the candidates had no choice in the matter, it is said the members sometimes selected their enemeis to silence opposition. In that case the candidate was lifeless before being brought into the assembly. Those in charge of the demonstration raised him several times, and then announced that he failed to respond to the treatment to bring him to life again. This was one way of keeping outsiders in fear, and preventing them from talking against the society.

The severest test given to one who was grown up before being taken in or one they had some doubt of being a good candidate was to take him to the beach at low tide and to leave him there, supposedly dead. Woe to him if he made any movement which would give away

to the profane that he was alive! The waves might beat upon him, but he must remain rigid. It meant death if he failed. When the members were satisfied that the candidate lived up to instructions given, he was taken back to the preparation room for the final work.

On the day set for the final tests candidates were brought before the assembly devoid of clothing and apparently lifeless. The doctors or leaders of the society were supposed to be vested with power to restore life. Each candidate was raised several times and at the appointed moment aroused, supposedly returned to life by the mysterious authority of the doctors. According to previous instructions, the candidates now began to act strangely and usually ran out of the house. As they did so spears were placed in their hands to frighten the uninitiated whom they might meet. They continued to run until they reached the outskirts of the village, where they bathed and immediately returned to the assembly hall. Here all engaged in the dance, followd by a great feast; these two lasted alternatly for a week or more.

At the close of this merry-making the master of ceremonies produced the articles to be disposed of, and the potlatch proper was inaugurated. The property was given away in honor of those recently initiated as members in good standing of the Black Tamanous. Then a new name was given each—possibly that of a grandfather or great grandfather—and the ceremony was complete.

During the dances many plans were devised to strike terror to the onlookers. Sometimes a dog was dismembered and the doctors pretended to eat the carcass. Other dancers horrified the audience by spitting out streams of blood. This, I learned afterwards, was accomplished by cutting a gash in the end of the tongue, from which the blood flowed profusely. One story is told which illustrates how carefully they guarded this power as a secret. It is said that on the day following a frenzied dance, one of the leaders was lying on his back, while about him were his wife and children. One of the little girls playfully climbed upon her father's body and while talking to him noticed that his tongue was lanced; whereupon she cried, "Oh, father, your tongue is cut!" He quickly took his knife and killed the entire family by cutting them across the abdomen. To him it was better that they were dead than that he should keep his family and leave any possibility of their disclosing one of the horrible secrets of the Black Tamanous. It was a well known fact that anyone who rerealed one of their secrets disappeared and no one dared express an

opinion, even if it were suspected that members of the society might be responsible for the disappearance.

The last part of the ceremony of initiation consisted of explaining the origin of the society. Guards having been stationed about the house to prevent eavesdroppers from listening, the doctors or masters gave the following information to the initiates, as nearly as I can translate the account into English:

"At one time, having returned from a duck hunt, a certain man invited his friends to feast on the game he had killed the night before. While eating and engaging in pleasant conversation, one of the men accidentally tore his tongue with the breast bone of the duck. The blood gashed forth; all eyes were centered on the man in his distress; consternation ensued among the guests, but none could offer relief. This accident had changed a joyous, harmonious group from pleasure and happiness to sadness and distress. It was considered a disgrace that such an event should happen on such an occasion, and they sought for some means of removing the stigma that attached thereto.

"They searched for a word, a thought, or a symbol for this calamity. Many sounds were suggested, but none seemed to be applicable to the thought that would fit the occasion. When they were about wearied of their search and failure was staring them in the face, one of the men who had not spoken, said more as an afterthought, 'Why not try this sound?' and he imitated the growl of an animal. The right chord was struck—the symbol of the desired idea was found and a new society was born. They called it 'Hun-hun-ne-te,' meaning *to growl,* or the sound of growling. These men then made a compact, took their obligation to keep this secret, and agreed that if anyone should reveal what had taken place there, the death penalty should be inflicted."

Thus they had succeeded in restoring harmony by turning this suffering and disgrace into a great movement, the beginning of one of the most feared societies among the Clallam Indians. Whatever of spiritual meaning there is in the society, I am still in the dark concerning it. I sometimes imagine that the spiritual meaning was left to the initiate to solve for himself, and that he could not understand unless he was fully prepared and his life fit to possess this knowledge; furthermore, that one must seek earnestly to find it as the originators had done before finding the sound or word that they searched diligently for. Does it mean that after all there are no mysteries in

life when we come to understand by the light of knowledge and understanding? Or is it the story of the Lost Word?

I have no doubt that in the primitive days to be initiated and to be a member were character builders. These urged the individual to live a life of usefulness, strength, and power, and gave him realization that he possessed something outsiders did not have. This was a stimulus for him to build his manhood strong and noble until he attained that greatest of virtues, Self-Control, and became a real Master —Master of his own forces. JOHNSON WILLIAMS.

MULLAN ROAD

For fifty years after the exploration of Lewis and Clark, the Oregon Trail was the usual route to the Northwest. It is true that at first the trappers and later the traders ascended the Missouri to Fort Benton and that the Indians of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho went across the mountains to hunt buffalo in Montana, but the trails used by the Indian were not known to the white man and he himself had no roads or routes.

But in the fifties there came a demand for a northern route to the Pacific Coast. There was need of a transcontinental railroad westward from St. Paul. The Indian wars of 1855-6, on the upper Columbia, caused the settlers in Oregon and Washington to ask protection of the National Government and roads were needed if soldiers were to come quickly. Immigrants to the Northwest from St. Louis could come to Fort Benton by water, about two-thirds of the distance. The Walla Walla country, after the Indian wars, was settled very rapidly and there was soon a surplus of grain, livestock, etc., for which a market was sought.

In response to these demands, the National Government decided to build a military road. Lieutenant John Mullan was commissioned to build the road. One day during the presidency of Polk, a boy was admitted to his presence, for in those days a president did not have so much to do and was not so difficult to see as today. The boy was below the average in height, but well built and had a keen eye. He asked the President for admittance to West Point. "What is your name?" asked the President. "John Mullan, sir," replied the boy. "Well, don't you think you are rather small to want to be a soldier?" asked Polk. "I may be somewhat small, sir, but can't a small man be a soldier as well as a large one?" The President thought so and Mullan was appointed and in due time graduated from West Point at the head of his class and became a lieutenant of artillery.

When the government organized the expedition under Stevens, to find routes for railroads and roads from the upper Mississippi to the Pacific Northwest, Mullan was a member of his party. He spent the next three or four years in this work, exploring the Rocky and Bitter Root mountains of Montana, Idaho and those of Washington, seeking suitable routes for the purposes mentioned. Stevens finished his work, became Governor of Washington Territory and later its

delegate in Congress, but Mullan was still interested in the road to the Northwest.

On one of his trips to Washington, D. C., he called on Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, and gave him such a glowing description of the possibilities and practicability of this road that the Secretary immediately assigned him the task of building it.

Briefly, the road beginning at Wallula extends eastward to Fort Walla Walla. The route is then North, crossing the Snake river where the Palouse empties into it, continuing northward almost to the present city of Spokane. Here the road turns east and two locations were made, both leading to the old Coeur d'Alene Mission at St. Mary's, one going around the Southern part of Lake Coeur d'Alene and the other around the Northern. The latter became the permanent route. From the Mission, the road follows the Coeur d'Alene river to its source, crossing the Bitter Root mountains at Sohn's Pass to the river St. Regis Borgia, which is a branch of the Bitter Root. This river, together with the Hellgate and Little Blackfoot, furnish the route to Mullan's Pass, where the road crosses the Rocky Mountains. From this point the road is parallel to, but some distance north of, the Missouri river until it approaches Fort Benton, when it reaches the river. From Wallula eastward, Mullan describes the country as follows: "First one hundred and eighty miles open trail or rolling prairie; next one hundred and twenty miles densely timbered mountain bottoms; next two hundred and twenty-four miles open timbered plateaus with long stretches of prairie; and next one hundred miles level or rolling prairie."

The construction of the road involved one hundred and twenty miles of difficult timber cutting, twenty-five feet broad; thirty miles of excavation fifteen or twenty feet wide; the building of miles of corduroy road, of many bridges varying in length from a few to hundreds of feet; the provision for ferries when bridges were not practical, the most notable one being that kept by a half-breed Indian, Antoine Plant, across the Spokane. The river at that point was three hundred feet wide and eighty feet deep. The ferry was operated by a strong cable and a boat forty feet long.

The terminals of this road were Forts Walla Walla (Wallula) and Benton. The former was located near the junction of the Snake and the Columbia and was built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1830, and next to Vancouver the most important fort in the Oregon country. Here were kept the supplies for many of the forts on the upper Columbia and Snake rivers and here were collected the furs

from these forts. Here resided Peter Skeen Ogden and here were brought the survivors of the Whitman Massacre when ransomed by him.

Fort Benton was built in 1846 and was to the upper Missouri what Walla Walla was to the upper Columbia and in the early days it became the head of navigation when steamboats came up from St. Louis.

On July 1st, 1859, Mullan began actual work on the road, starting from the Western Terminal. He had about one hundred men, together with wagons, pack horses, axes, picks, shovels, whip saws and other tools necessary for the work. The men were divided into parties, each party being in charge of a foreman. The topographers and engineers first made permanent locations, selecting lines of least resistance, choosing suitable places for fords or ferries across the streams; avoiding so far as possible canyons, hills or mountains that would require much rock work, swamps and bogs that would require corduroy or bridge work, or thickly timbered sections that would require much chopping. Of course, there were places where these obstacles could not be avoided.

The location having been made, the laborers followed. Little was required till the Coeur d'Alene region was reached. Here the heavy work began. Over one hundred miles through "standing timber that was dense, and fallen timber that had accumulated for ages formed an intricate jungle well calculated to impress one with the character of impenetrability." Twenty bridges varying in length from a few feet to a hundred or more were built across the Coeur d'Alene river in going a comparatively short distance. At another place six miles of heavy rock work had to be done which required the labor of one hundred and fifty men for six weeks.

Depots for supplies were established at regular intervals along the route. In summer a place would be selected where there was plenty of wood and water for the men and pasture for the stock, consisting of work animals and beef cattle, while in the winter the stock was taken to the lower and milder altitudes. The men, however, built log houses and remained near their work. Deer and bear were abundant. These, together with the beef cattle, could be killed, the meat hung in the trees where it froze and could be used as needed. Flour, sugar, coffee, etc., must be brought from one end or the other of the road, while fresh vegetables could be obtained at certain seasons from the Catholic missions or fur trading stations. The most noted of these missions were the St. Mary's, located on Coeur d'Alene Lake, and

another on Lake Pend d'Oreille. Aside from furnishing a certain amount of provisions, they secured from the Indians for Mullan much valuable information of the country as regards trails, passes, etc.

The Indians rendered Mullan great assistance as guides, mail carriers, packers, etc. During the winter of 1859, Garry, Chief of the Spokanes, brought the mail regularly by way of Clark's Fork. In the Spring of 1860, Mullan was at work in the Bitter Root valley and in great need of supplies from Benton. He says: "for my men and stock my necessity was so great that I laid my wants before the 'Flat Heads.' I told them I needed one hundred and seventeen horses, with pack saddles, and from fifteen to twenty of their men to accompany Mr. Sohn across the mountains. They promised me a reply next day, when they would send me as many sticks as they had men and horses to furnish.

"The next morning their Chief Ambrose came to Fort Owen, where I was a guest, with a bundle of one hundred and thirty-seven sticks, each representing a horse or a man. Such nobleness of character as is found among some of the Flat Heads is seldom seen among Indians. I here record to their credit that I never had a want, but which when made known to them, they supplied and that they always treated myself and my parties with a frank generosity and a continuous friendship.

"They were paid for the use of their animals and the services of their men, and made the trip in the month of March safely across the Rocky Mountains, bringing me back eleven thousand rations."

August 1st, 1862, Mullan and his road builders reached Fort Benton, where he met Major Blake and three hundred recruits awaiting his arrival. Captain Reynolds, a topographical engineer, and party who had been surveying a route from Fort Laramie to the headwaters of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers were also there. Mullan turned over some of his men and equipment to Major Blake, who was to come over the new road to Wallula, secured a number of pack horses from Captain Reynolds and within four days started on his return trip over the road. His purpose was to make all needed changes and repairs that the road might be thoroughly tested by Major Blake, who had many wagons and a considerable party.

Shortly after his departure four steamers arrived at Fort Benton from St. Louis, bringing three hundred and sixty-four emigrants for Walla Walla and other points. They had saw- and grist-mills. There were also many miners among them who intended prospecting enroute.

Captain Mullan found little to demand his services on his return, arriving at Wallula late in August. Here he disposed of his property at public auction and departed for Washington, D. C., to make his final report. He had been seven years in the field, four of which were in the actual building of the road, which was now complete. It had cost $230,000, or less than $100 per mile.

This road enabled the government to move its troops rapidly to the Northwest; furnished a way for the miner, the pack train that came soon after its completion; induced thousands of immigrants to come to the new country; supplied the transcontinental railroad in the North with the information necessary for the proper location of their lines; and showed to the whole United States the richness of the natural resources of the "Oregon Country" and provided a safe means of transit to it and safety for those who would settle it.

In 1866 the Legislature of Washington Territory in a memorial to Congress for an appropriation to repair this road, four years after its completion, sets forth its advantages as follows:

"The opening of this road is of the greatest, most vital importance to the people of Washington, Idaho and that portion of Montana lying West of the Rocky Mountains. There is a constant stream of population flowing into the region of country lying along and adjacent to this so-called Mullan road. The immigrant who is seeking farming land comes on down to the Walla Walla and other rich valleys lying along the Western terminus of the road and thence on to Puget Sound. There is at the present time a population of over 100,000 inhabitants in the territories of Washington, Idaho and Western Montana. Rich deposits of gold, silver, copper, lead and iron are constantly being discovered and rapidly developed. Mining towns are springing into existence in all parts of the newly settled region. Branch roads leading from this main trunk (Mullan road) to the different mining camps are being made by individual enterprises. The vital importance of an early opening of a free road through this rich and fertile region of public domain, whereby the producers of the valleys may be enabled to reach the mining regions with their produce, and supply the miners with the necessaries of life at prices which will enable them to remain in and develop the mines.

"We submit the following statistics carefully compiled and drawn from reliable sources relative to the productions and ruling prices for the same of Walla Walla valley alone, together with the number of tons of freight landed by teams at Wallula, and the amount passing over the Mullan road by pack trains to Western Montana.

"The Walla Walla valley, including that portion which lies in the State of Oregon, has produced this season (1866) 500,000 bushels of wheat, 250,000 bushels of oats, 200,000 bushels of barley, 150,000 bushels of corn, 170,000 pounds of beans, 4,500 head of hogs, 1,800 head of horses, 2,500 head of cattle.

"From January 1 to November 15, 1866, 1,500 head of horses have been purchased by individual miners at Walla Walla horse markets, 2,000 miners have outfitted at Walla Walla, 5,000 head of cattle were driven from Walla Walla to Montana, 6,000 mules have left Walla Walla and the Columbia river loaded with freight for Montana; fifty-two light wagons with families have left Walla Walla for Montana, thirty-one wagons with immigrants have come through from the States via the Mullan road, a portion of whom settled in Walla Walla valley and the remainder crossed the Columbia river at Wallula and settled on the Yakima river or passed on to Puget Sound; not less than 20,000 persons have passed over the Mullan road to and from Montana during the past season; $1,000,000 in treasure has passed through Walla Walla and Wallula during the same period.

The Walla Walla valley contains six flouring mills, six sawmills, two planing mills, two distilleries, one foundry and fifty-two threshing, heading and reaping machines."

HENRY L. TALKINGTON.

DOCUMENTS

Diary of Colonel and Mrs. I. N. Ebey

Editer by Victor J. Farrar

(Continued from Quarterly for July, 1916, page 246.)

Wednesday 9 [June, 1852.]

Wind still continued to blow, quite cool. Evening very windy and cool. Mr. White and another gentleman stayed all night at our house this evening.

Thursday 10

Morning very calm and pleasant very light breeze west. A vessel seen at a distance coming up. Mr. W. & his partner left this morning for Port Townsend Mr Dray came this morning bound for Townsend. Two vessels in sight this morning in the Straits I suppose outward bound. Evening cloudy with some rain falling which will be very good for vegetation as the ground is very dry.

Friday 11th

Morning cloudy, we had a fine shower of rain last night and this morning we finished setting out cabbage plants. A vessel still in sight in the Straits. Come up and anchored in Port Townsend supposed to be the Schooner Damerisuvo. [Demaris Cove. See note on page 244.]

Saturday 12

Morning very pleasant attempted to raft our board timber and failed could not get raft afloat Day verry warm— Schooner Damerasuvo left Port Townsend this morning with a light wind south, outward bound. Col Moses,[12] H Wilson,[13] Wilton[14] came

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12 By an act approved February 14, 1851, the collection district of Puget Sound was created and Simpson P. Moses of Ohio was appointed collector. He arrived at Port Townsend on November 10, and shortly afterward appointed Isaac N. Ebey and Henry C. Wilson inspectors. Moses gained prominence in his efforts to rescue the goldseekers who had been captured on Queen Charlotte island by Haidah Indians, and by his libel of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessels Beaver and Mary Dare. He was not a success politically and was removed, his successor being Ebey.

13 Henry C. Wilson. He was at this time inspector of customs for Port Townsend. Previously he had been a clerk for Lafayette Balch. He filed on a claim at Port Townsend in August, 1850, but failed to patent it. He was successful with his second claim, filed at that same port on April 19, 1852.

14 William Wilton. He came to the Sound from San Francisco in December, 1850, and engaged in the business of cutting piles on the shores north of Steilacoom, but the enterprise resulted in failure.

over to day from Port Townsend with two Sailers and two Indians, remained all night.

Sunday 13

Morning cool I think there was frost last night as I see some of fern wilted as with frost Visited Col Crocketts accompayned by Col Moses and others who remained until after dinner when Maj Show came over and they accompaynid him to Coveland.[15] Day verry pleasant Schooner "Chatborough"[16] came up this evening—

Monday 14th

Morning pleasant, a little cool, employed hauling board timber Schooner Chatborough passed down about 12 oclock M & continued beating about in the Inlet all afternoon and finally anchored under Point Wilson. Fresh wind from west all evening.

Tuesday 15

Col Moses & Mr Wilson came in last night after we had all gone to bed. the Col wished to get to the Chatborough but the wind blue too hard. Morning pleasant the Schooner got under way this morneing about sunrise and made her way out on the ebb tide. Col Moses and Wilson started this morning after breakfast & start for Olympia— A Schooner this morneing is trying to make her way up the Inlet with a fare breeze and the tide is trying to keep her back I think the tide is successful as I see She is gradually dropping back. Mr. Ebey started to Olympia to day and I am very lonely all day as the boys are hauling timber a great ways off.

Wednesday 16

The above named vessel was seen early this morning making her way up the Straits and succeeded in passing on up the Sound to day She was supposed to be the George Emory.[17] This is a beautiful clear day. in the evening the wind raised strongly from the west and was very cold for the season of the year.

Thursday 17th

Morning very foggy wind west after the fog went off the day has been very pleasant— Mrs. Crockett visited me to day and

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15 Coveland was a townsite venture of Dr. R. C. Lansdale, who laid out the place on March 31, 1852. Coveland was not advantageously situated for a town and never amounted to much, although several enterprising persons attempted to make it boom.

16 The schooner **Cadboro** was a Hudson's Bay Company boat and had been on this station since 1827.

17 The **George Emory** was brought to these waters from San Francisco by her captain, Lafayette Balch.

I spent my time very agreeably Thomas[18] & William[19] went to Mr. Digges[20] to grind their axes—

Friday 18th

Morning very pleasant. The boys have commenced the pailings to day. All well.

Saturday 19th

Today clear and uncomfortably warm. Maj. Show came this evening to get his watch and clothes to go to Mr— Crockett's. To-day Mr. Crockett brought us over a good chance of venison which was very kind. We have a mild Sea breeze to day the water is very calm. A great deal of smoke is to be seen on the other side which I suppose is caused by the indians burning the woods.

Sunday 20

Day very warm and clear flies are very bad about the cattle; we had seen none of account until yesterday and today. Old Slalack and his indians have just arrived from Vicktoria I supose they have come to work his potatoes.[21] How pleasant it would be to have preaching to go to these beautiful long Sabbath days and Sabbath school for our children to go to I live in hopes of having such advantages in a year or two.

Monday 21st

Morning very cloudy, and looks very much like rain; a strong cool breeze from the west Evening more pleasant and clear— A vessel came down the Sound to day and anchored at Port Townsend About 4 o'clock in the afternoon a vessel was seen in the Straits coming up; The wind being very favorable she soon sailed passed and out of sight. We took her to be the Exact.

Tuesday 22nd

Morning clear and warm two brigs and a Schooner passed this day Mrs. Alexander[22] arrived here to day from off the Schooner

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18 Thomas Davis.

19 William Alexander. See, **post,** note 22.

20 W. H. Diggs. He left the island shortly after and entered the employ of Lafayette Balch.

21 The Indians had acquired their knowledge of agriculture from the Hudson's Bay Company, who since 1833 had employed many of them as laborers on their various farms. The potatoes mentioned are described as small, of rough skin, but delicious in taste, and far superior to present commercial varieties.

22 John Alexander was born on October 8, 1805, and was married to Frances Sharp (born June 6, 1818) on January 1, 1832. At the time of his migration he had two children: William, born on January 3, 1834, and John S., born on July 23, 1836. The family crossed the plains to Portland and on November 5, 1851, took passage for Puget Sound, where they selected their claim on August 1, 1852. Shortly afterwards, on November 13, Abraham Lansdale Alexander was born, his being the third birth among the settlers on the island. William Alexander married in Peoria, Illinois, and

Mary Taylor; her husband with his cattle and other property and Mr Smith[23] and Mr Bonsel[24] are coming down in scows. We are looking also for Mrs. Bonsel and Smith and Mr. & Mrs. Boysover[25] from Port Townsend who also came down from Olympia on the Mary Taylor.

Wednesday 23

Day clear and moderately warm. Dr. Lansdale, Mr. Howe & Capt. Fay,[26] came over and brought us two letters from the States one from W. Ebey dated March the 5th the other from Mary[27] dated March 29th They gave me a great deal of satisfaction as they stated Mother & sister, brothers & aunt are all coming to this country this year. We are very rejoiced to hear it. and sorry to hear the balance of our relatives cannot come until next season. We must prepare to meet those who are coming. Thomas & William Alaxander have almost completed the yard and have quit working at it to finish Thomas' house for Mr. A. to move into until they get theirs built.

Thursday 24th

This morning Maj Show came over to cover Mr. Bonseles house for his family to go into but finding it was quite open he gave it out until Mr. B. comes. About 10 o'clock to day Mrs. Bonsel and Mrs. Smith arrived here off the Schooner from Port Townsend with their families They will stay here until their husbands arrive I find them to be very fine ladies and good company. This morning was very foggy but towards 12 o'clock the fog disappeared and it was very pleasant until towards evening when the wind raised and was very cold.

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had four children. John S. married Anna Lanning of Port Townsend on December 28, 1870, and had nine children. John Alexander, the father, died on September 9, 1858, and his widow married Captain R. C. Fay. She died on March 10, 1902.

23 Jacob Smith. He filed a claim on October 10, 1852, and he should not be confused with Joseph Smith who came a year later and for whom Smith's prairie was named. Jacob Smith and his family left the island and went to Thurston county. Cordelia Smith married Nathaniel Crosby.

24 H. H. Bancroft, **History of Washington**, p. 30, spells the name "Bonswell." The family left the island, as related in the diary, and probably left the Sound.

25 Identity not ascertained.

26 Captain Robert C. Fay. He was born in Vermont in 1820, and in September, 1851, in company with John N. Low, Lee Terry and David T. Denny, came to Alki Point, now part of the city of Seattle. His companions remained and are numbered with the founders of that city. Fay, however, preferred the island and, although he did not take a claim, made it his residence for the remainder of his life. He was never identified with marine affairs on these waters, but became quite prominent in the Indian service. In 1863, he married the widow of John Alexander. His death occurred on February 25, 1872.

27 Mary Ebey Wright. See the introduction to this diary in the July number of the Quarterly.

Friday 25th

Morning foggy and pleasant day clear and comfortably warm Thomas and William have completed riving boards and hewing puncheons and have gone to cover the house all well

Saturday 26th

Morning cold and very thick heavy fog we could not see the bay for the fog there seemed to be a thick black cloud all over the water. Mrs. S. to day went over to Port Townsend to day to get her things off the vessel. Evening very cool. the boys have covered Thomas' house and laid the floor so Mr. Alaxander can live in it

Sunday 27

Morning very pleasant and day warm A good breeze west. Mrs. Smith arrived from Port T. this morning by breakfast A vessel seen last evening going up. We have plenty of company four families of us here 12 children in one house almost enough for a school Samuel Crockett came over in the forenoon and staid a while. He said his father was intending to move to morrow to his own claim. Two vessels passing at present one supposed to be the John Davis[28] going up the other is a Schooner going down the Sound. The ground is very dry and needs rains.

Monday 28th

Morning very foggy. Towards noon the wind raised from the west and blew all evening very hard. The water was covered with large white caps and looked very dangerous for one to be out in. We could distinguish a schooner through the thick mist upon the water going up towards P. T.[29] Today I succeeded in hiring six indians to work our potatoes after trying every one I saw for two weeks.

Tuesday 29th

Morning very pleasant but cloudy Mr. Crockett was here a few minutes this morning and wished us to send over after some fresh venison I supposed the reason of his tarrying such a short time was the sight of so many ladies in one house which is a very singular scene in Whidby's Island After dinner Mrs. Alexander, Mrs. Bonsel, Cordelia Smith, all concluded to go out strawberry hunting and have Mrs. Smith to keep house and take care of the children. We walked over half a mile over to Mr. Bonsel's place

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28 The brig **John Davis**, Captain Plummer, of Port Townsend.
29 Port Townsend.

and found a great many but we had not been there long before it commenced raining and drove us home through the wet weeds quite a wet disappointd set.

Wednesday 30th

Morning cloudy and a little rain but not enough to wet the ground through. Mr. Alaxander his son John with another gentleman arrived here this morning early they left the Scow yesterday evening ten miles above the landing and came in a canoe to the landing and stoped all night on the beach all well and safe. Evening pleasant and still cloudy Mr. Bonsel Mr. Alaxander and Mr. Smith, came this evening they had arrived in the Cove. To day I received two letters from Mr. Ebey and one from Winfield by Capt Bell from the Schooner Eagle I was much gratified to hear from all. The Eagle passed this evening C. Bell aboard.

Thursday, July the 1st.

Still cloudy and a little rain in the night. Wind south West. Old Mr. Crockett was here to day. Dr. Lansdale here a few minutes. Mrs. Alaxander moved to day. to Thomas' house.

Friday 2nd

Morning Cloudy with a few sprinkles of rain Mrs. Bonsel moved to her own house to day. Mrs. Smith and family left here for Capt. Bell's house We are very lonesome today after having so much company. Thomas gone to help William Alaxander dig a well Henry Wilson & Capt. Hachinson[30] of Schooner M. Taylor came over this evening and passed on to take a deer hunt. Evening nearly clear and very pleasant.

Saturday 3rd

Morning cloudy and very pleasant a little rain fell last night. Evening clear and moderately warm A great desire to see Mr. Ebey come from Oly. as we are very lonely since our female friends left Sold 3 pounds of butter to day. all in good health

Sunday 4th

Still cloudy and great appearance of rain; a little mist falling wind rather south but very light A large Sailing vessel passing slowly down the Sound. The appearance of the water is most beautiful this morning The surface is calm not a ripple or wave

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30 Captain Loren B. Hastings. He had filed a claim on Port Townsend on April 24, 1852, and with Charles C. Bachelder, A. A. Plummer and F. W. Pettygrove, became the founder of the city of that name. About that time he purchased the Columbia river pilot boat, **Mary Taylor,** which he placed on the run between the Sound and Portland.

to be seen except the serf which is slowly gliding towards the shore as regular as the pendulum of a clock ticks—but very gentle to what it is when the wind is high. This is a great day in some places We hear cannon firing from some Port or vessel up the Sound I think such things should be postponed until Monday as it is a great violation of the Sabbath. There are none here to day but Thomas myself. and the children it is a still & quiet Sabbath day.

Monday 5th

Day pleasant part of the day cloudy the ballance clear strong breeze south. Hired John Bartlet[31] to commence hoeing out our late potatoes to day. Thomas is engaged digging a well upon his claim.

Tuesday 6th

Morning pleasant and a little cloudy towards noon the sun shone very brightly but towards evening the clouds became very thick and appeared very much like rain The ground is very dry and a little rain would be a great help.

Wednesday 7th

Morning rainy and quite cool. Wind wavering we had a good shower of rain yesterday evening Thomas J. Bartlet, and an indian, hoeing our potatoes to day Mr. J. Crocket here this morning after some tools.

Thursday 8th

Day pleasant Mr. Smith went to Port Townsend today for his things and brought from there this evening a letter from Mr. Ebey and some papers.

Friday 9th

Day fair and quite warm This evening at bed time Mr. Ebey arrived from Olympia accompanied by Mr. Bailey[32] They were almost exhausted after having walked a great distance leaving their canoe and indians on account of high winds in the evening I was glad to see Mr. Ebey return but he is obliged to hurry off to Salem in a few days

Saturday 10th

Morning pleasant and warm nothing of importance occurred to day.

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31 John and Thomas Bartlett. These two, who were brothers, grew tired of farming, and shortly afterwards left for San Francisco.

32 R. S. Bailey. He filed a claim on September 1, 1852.

Sunday 11th

This morning we all Mr. Ebey myself and children went with J. Crocket and his lady to Col. Crocket's for the first time since they moved to their own claim we had a very pleasant visit, and saw a good deal of pretty country.

Monday 12th

Day pleasant. Mr. Crocket and Samuel were here to day Mr. Baily the assessor went to Port T. today but did not return this evening as the wind is very high and blustery.

Tuesday 13th

Morning cloudy; wind west but very light Mr. Ebey started this morning for Olympia and is going from there to Salem to a called term of the legislature Will be gone nearly 2 months I was very sorry to see him start to be gone so long and he seemed very loth to go at this time in the season a very busy time for farmers.

Wednesday 14th

Morning very cold and looks very much like rain a very strong breeze from the South until towards noon when it became clear and very warm and but little wind Every kind of vegetation is fresh and green yet. Sold 2 lb. butter today and some bread

Thursday 15th

Morning cloudy but pleasant all day very lonesome no one not even an indian stirring except Mr. Wilson from Olympia who had camped on the shore with Mr. Hughes[33] and Mr. Brownfield[34] on their way to Dungun Ness they bought 50cts. worth of bread another man off a vessel at Port T. came over and bought 2½ pounds of butter and J. Bartlet one pound.

Friday 16th

Morning very cool for the season of the year day pleasant three vessels passed down the Sound today. Myself and the children went on a visit to Mr. Bonsel's this evening had a very pleasant visit Thomas was busy all day halling poles to fence the garden.

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33 Probably James M. Hughes who, with his family, arrived at Olympia on the **Exact**, in November, 1851. He subsequently became identified with Stellacoom.

34 Daniel Fauber Brownfield. He had been very prominent in political affairs prior to his arrival at New Dungeness, where he filed a claim and became the second settler at that place.

Saturday 17th

The atmosphere is hazy and feels as if we would have rain soon all day cloudy and a strong south wind Thomas and Mr. Bonsel went to day to cut board timber Mr. B. concluded the task too hard and gave it out. Walter Crocket here this evening. all well.

Sunday 18th

Morning pleasant but cloudy at 12 o'clock it commenced raining and showered a little all evening To day I am very unwell scarcely able to sit up.

Monday 19th

Day pleasant and clear The children went to J. Crocket's this evening and Susan came home with them to stay all night. I am still scarcely able to do my work yet I have it to do.

Tuesday 20th

Susan stayed until evening and the little boys took her home I had such a pain in my side after they started that I could neither lie nor stand strait I did not know for some time what to do but at length it gradually became better.

Wednesday 21

I felt so unwell this morning that Thomas went after the Dr. who came and gave me some medicine which he thought would help me. he thought my condition quite a serious one He said I ought to quit labour and try to get well. Today pleasant some South wind.

Thursday 22

This is a very pleasant day I have not been able to write for several days until today I feel some better today but very weak A Steamer passed this evening supposed to be the Hudson Bay steamer Beaver.[35] Eason is 8 years old today.

Friday 23rd

I have lost a day in this week occasioned by my illness. It was this evening the Steamer passed here she proved to be the U. S. Survaying Steamer Active[36] surveying the coasts of Oregon and California. The weather at this time is quite cool for the time in the year.

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[35] The Beaver was the first steam-propelled vessel on the Pacific coast.

[36] The work of the coast survey in this territory was commenced at Shoalwater Bay, now Willapa Harbor, and was in charge of two persons: Lieutenant James Alden (hydrography) and George Davidson (topography).

Saturday 24th

We have south wind today which is good for those who are traveling down the Sound a boat ful of men came over to the Island from the Steamer (which is anchored at P. Townsend) yesterday evening on a deer hunting expedition I have not been able to cook but very little for some time Mrs Bonsel's little girl Rebecca stays with me all the time Mrs. B. herself came over this evening and baked me some bread and pies and got supper. just as we were ready to eat supper the Dr. on board of the steamer Active and the engineer came and they took supper The Doctor is a very intelligent looking man.

Sunday 25th

Morning cool as usual day pleasant Mrs. Alaxander came over today and Mr. A. and Dr. Lansdale who left me a little medicine and thinks I am out of danger He wishes to start next week across the mountains if I am well enough for Thomas to leave. I cough some and have a very bad pain in my sides.

Monday 26th

All day quite cool Thermometer 65 degrees The weather in the States is, at this season of the year oppressively hot but this is an uncommon cool season for this country. everything seems to grow very fast

Thursday 29th

From Monday until this time I have not been able to write but today I feel a great deal better than I have done since I took sick Last night was almost as cool as any night we had last winter early this morning was uncomfortably cool but today is a beautiful pleasant day clear and but little wind stiring Cordelia Smith is with me now helping me to do my work until I get stout again Dr. Lansdale was over this morning to see when Thomas could start across the mountains But T. cannot leave until the scow comes we hear she is on her way down We must hear from Mr. Ebey first Thomas was digging at his well yesterday he has it 26 ft. and no water yet Today he is cutting poles to fix the garden fence to keep the cattle out which seems to be almost an impossibility.

Friday 30th

This morning is very cold Thermometer about as low as 58 degrees above zero day clear and pleasant Capt. Porter[37] and Capt

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37 Dana H. Porter. He removed to Port Ludlow, where he was inspector of spars until he died in March, 1880.

Bachelor[38] landed here early this morning in a whaleboat and called for breakfast Cordelia and myself got their breakfast although I was scarcely able to do anything They went on over to the Cove and returned by noon and ate dinner and paid two dollars Capt P. is very sociable and his hair is as white as milk.

Saturday 31st

Morning cool and pleasant some wind south evening very windy and blustry as usual Dr. Lansdale and Thomas have set Monday to start across the mountains to meet the Immigrants Cordelia went home this evening I am getting well again perhaps only for a short period health and life is uncertain I never expect to enjoy good health and bodily strength as I have done. Although this is a healthy climate my constitution appears to be very much injured, but it is useless to repine. I have experienced the loss of relatives and now the loss of health; yet I might have still greater losses and troubles to bear with I must be resigned to the will of a Higher Power.

August. Sunday 1st

Last night appeared to be cold enough for frost This morning is the coldest we have had this Summer. day pleasant a good deal of west wind. This evening I received a letter from Mr. Ebey dated Portland July 21st he was well It was brought to Port Townsend by Mr. Pettigrove[39] and from there by Mr. Bonsel and Capt. Scott.[40] a little rain in the forenoon today.

Monday 2nd

Morning usually cool day pleasant light breeze west. Dr. Lansdale came over today to start this evening; but as we heard by Capt. Scott that the Scow is not far off on her way down they have concluded to wait its arrival as we expect it will bring satisfactory letters from the States.

Tuesday 3rd.

Weather still cool. we are not troubled but very little with musquetoes and flies The sea breeze is very pleasant in the mornings but in the evening it is very uncomfortable to persons who are not accustomed to it. Mr. Bonsel started to Victoria in company with Mr. Wilson They intend taking a job there of building a good house.

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[38] Charles C. Bachelder. He filed a claim on Port Townsend in 1852 and with L. B. Hastings, A. A. Plummer and F. W. Pettygrove, became the founder of the city of that name.

[39] F. W. Pettygrove. He arrived at Port Townsend in November, 1851, where he took a claim on April 24, and, with C. C. Bachelder, A. A. Plummer and L. B. Hastings, became the founder of the city of that name.

[40] Identity not ascertained.

Wednesday 4th

Day cool Thermometer 60 degrees light wind south this morning towards evening the wind turned in the west and was very blustery The water very rough. John Bartlet staid here last night and left his lambs at home and this morning an Indian found one of them at the Bay and could not find the other supposed the indian dogs had killed it

Thursday 5th.

Morning very cool as usual. A good deal of west wind Vegetation is fresh and green yet growing as fast as ever; while reports say vegetation in every other portion of Oregon is dried up and dead The ground here continues moist through the dry season. Mr. Alexander has dug his well 60 ft. deep and has come to dry fine sand he has quit it. Thomas' well affords water enough for Mr. Smith's family to use we think after a while it will have plenty in it Thomas is halling house logs today no news of the Scow yet. A vessel passed this evening.

Friday 6th

Day pleasant A good breeze south today. Maj. Goldsborough[41] and Capt. Howard came this morning on their way to Dargeon Ness. Mr. Starling and Louten. Dement took dinner here today They are on their way from Dongeon Ness[42] and have taken Mr. Maddison[43] up for selling liquor to the Indians They have him here on the shore guarded by souldiers. He was here this evening a few minutes He looks very much distressed.

Saturday 7th

Morning not quite as cool as usual, and quite cloudy considerable west breeze today. Thomas and Dr. Lonsdale started to Olympia today and from thence they comeing back to the Mouth of the Snhomish river and are going up it as far as they can in a canoe and then take land and view out a road across the mountains to the mouth of the Umatilla. Those men are still camped on the beach except Mr. Maddison who they have sent up to Stillacoom to await his trial. this evening I received a letter from Mr. Ebey and one from Winfield stating that mother and brother John and James had started for this

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41 Messrs. Goldsborough, Howard, Sterling and Dement were officers connected with the army or navy attached to Fort Steilacoom. Commander Louis M. Goldsborough, U. S. N., had come to the Sound in command of the **Massachusetts,** which brought troops and supplies for the founding of Fort Steilacoom. Lieutenant John Dement, U. S. A., First Artillery, had participated in the rescue of the ill-fated gold seekers captured by Haidah Indians on Queen Charlotte island, and had seized the Hudson's Bay Company's ship Cadboro for alleged infractions of the custom's laws.

42 New Dungeness.

43 B. J. Madison. He took a claim at New Dungeness in March, 1852, and became the founder of that place.

country and that Martha was married on the 22 of April just before mother started and is not coming I am very sorry she is not coming but she may come next year. I am very much rejoiced to hear positive news of mother starting and hope she will get here safe.

Sunday 8th

Very cool this morning but not as cold as common. Wind west, very cloudy all day I have been all alone all day with the exception of Eason and Ellison's company John Barlet stays here of nights Those men on the beach started up this morning. I looked for some of Mr. Crocket's people over today but they have not come they certainly do not think of me living here alone day after day or some of them would visit me I am not able to walk so far to visit them and they are provided with wagons and horses so they can ride at any time. The water is very rough this evening. This is another Sabbath evening my mind reflicts back to the time when I was happy in reading and singing and conversing face to face with my friends. I do not mean, I am unhappy here but I always feel lonely when Mr Ebey is gone which makes my mind meditate upon former scenes in my life when I had doting loving relatives all around me, a kind mother aunts sisters brothers and cousins and other relatives who would spare no pains in making me happy. Today I wrote a letter to Martha She is my only sister living I have another dear Sister in Heaven.

Monday 9th

Very cloudy and smoky all day today we cannot see any distance on the bay or in the prairie The weather is not quite as cold today as usual No person here all day but Eason Ellison and myself since morning. The children are busily engaged studying their books feeding and watering their calves and divers other little jobs all day.

Tuesday 10th

Very cloudy today and some rain Toward noon the wind raised from the south and blew very hard all day which is very disagreeable to us.

Wednesday 11th

Morning cloudy and warmer than it has been for some time. Mr. Ebey arrived this morning before breakfast; I was very much rejoiced to see him it was quite unexpected for him to return at this time as I expected Legislature would continue in Session longer than it did; yet I was very agreeably disappointed. I do not feel so lonely now every thing assumes a different aspect to what they did yesterday and other days.

Thursday 12th

Day unusually warm and somewhat smoky Samuel Crockett, Mr. Smith Mr. Howe and Mr. Holbrook were all here in the forenoon. All very anxious to hear the news from Mr. Ebey. Mr. Smith arrived at noon with his boat which is very much injured and will have to be mended.

Friday 13th

Weather warm and clear with the exception of some smoke. last night was the warmest night we have had here for two months. Mr. Ebey & Mr. Chatman[44] surveyed some yesterday but today Mr. Smith is mending his boat and they cannot get hands. All well. Mr. Alexander here this evening.

Sat. the 14th

Mr. Ebey is geting his claim surveyed today by Mr. Chatman. Capt. Bell, John Bartlet and John Alaxander are helping. this day is very warm. Mr. Hughs ate dinner here today.

Sunday 15th

Morneing clear and warm. Mr. Hughs & Smith Pettegrove Plumber[45] & Wilton all came here for breakfast— Pettigrove crazy after butter got some here went to Jno Crockett got some there returned Capt Bell, John and Jno Chapman bound for Port Townsend, all soon started— Day very pleasant Miss Smith and her little sister paid us a visit today, A Ship comeing up this evening all sails set—

Monday 16th

Morning cloudy with south wind; Dr. Tolmie,[46] his lady and two other ladies, His little boy and a little brotherinlaw were here today bound for Victoria. They only stopped for a few minutes. Mrs. T.

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44 John Butler Chapman. Besides being the co-founder with Lafayette Balch of Stellacoom and active politically, Chapman was noted for his ability as a surveyor. He was later engaged by William Fraser Tolmie to make surveys of all lands claimed by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

45 A. A. Plummer. He took a claim on Port Townsend on April 24, 1851, and with C. C. Bachelder, L. B. Hastings and F. W. Pettygrove, became the founder of the city of that name.

46 William Fraser Tolmie was born in Inverness, Scotland, and educated as a naturalist, which at that time included medicine. Botany was his favorite study. Through the patronage of Sir William Hooker, the famous naturalist, he secured, in 1832, an appointment with the Hudson's Bay Company, and, in company with another appointee, a Mr. Gairdner, also a naturalist, set sail from London, aboard the Ganymede, and arrived at Fort Vancouver on April 30, 1833. Here he received orders from Dr. McLoughlin to repair to Milbank Sound to assist in the founding of Fort McLoughlin. In 1834, he was surgeon with an expedition under Ogden to the Stikeen river, served at Fort Simpson, and went to Milbank Sound, where he remained until February, 1836, when he took up his abode at Fort Vancouver. Here he remained until 1840, when he was granted a year's leave of absence. The year 1841 he seems to have spent in organizing agricultural

is half indian but she shows but very little of the indian features and appears to be quite intelligent. She was educated by the Hudson B. C. in Victoria. The Dr. was very kind in leaving us a fine large piece of fresh beef as a present. a brig passing up.

Tuesday 17th

Day pleasant and clear until towards evening, when it looked very much like rain Mrs. Bonsel gave a great alarm of fire this morning The Indians had set fire not far far from the house and it was about to burn up the house . She moved her things out and sent all over the neighborhood for men but none could be found they were all off surveying and cuting timber & , towards night, the men came and I sent them up and they succeeded in getting the house out of danger.

Wednesday 18

Morning cloudy and considerable rain through the day Mr Chatman has surveyed all the claims of those who wish to survey at this time on the Island and has gone to Port Townsend in company with Capt. Bell and John Bartlet, to survey claims over there. A large brig passed up last evening just in the time of our trouble about the fire. We received another letter from Winfield and one from brother John. Himself mother, and James were as far as Kanesville on their way to Oregon the 21st of May, and the road was crowded with Immigrants.

Thursday 19

Rain more or less all night the ground this morneing quite moiste, showery all day— doing little or nothing today—pulled an Indians wool and kicked another ones bottom today for being impudent & saucy to R when I am absent— Day cloudy, drisselly & calm—

Friday 20

Day cloudy and warm vessel passed up today; not very well today.

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establishments in the Willamette valley. In 1841, he sailed to England, where he remained until 1843, attending to the agricultural interests of the Company. During these years he had acquired a knowledge of Spanish, having in mind an appointment to the post at Yerba Buena, but upon his return to America was given the superintendency of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, instead. In 1859, he removed to Victoria, but continued to manage the affairs of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company until that company's interests were purchased by the United States government in the later sixties. Dr. Tolmie married the daughter of John Work, a clerk in the employe of the Company. His death occurred at Victoria in 1888.

(Continued in the next issue.)

BOOK REVIEWS

DAVID THOMPSON'S NARRATIVE OF HIS EXPLORATIONS IN WESTERN AMERICA, 1784-1812. Edited by J. B. Tyrrell. (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1916. Pp. 582.)

This is volume XII in the important series being issued by the Champlain Society for members and subscribing libraries only. This particular narrative is of great importance to the State of Washington for many reasons, the two most important being the facts that the text refers frequently to this region and that part of the editing was done by a well known citizen of this State. The editor's preface says: "In compiling the notes on the country west of the mountains I have been especially fortunate in securing the assistance of Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, Washington, U. S. A., who is intimately acquainted with the early history of the north-western states and especially of the Columbia valley. He was kind enough to visit me in Toronto, where we had the pleasure of reading over Thompson's original note-books together. His notes throughout are signed with his initials, T. C. E." A number of the illustrations are from photographs by Mr. Elliott and by others, including Mr. Frank Palmer of Spokane.

There is a touch of literary romance in the editor's preface when he recites how his own work on the Geological Survey of Canada caused him to realize that some man at some time had done very accurate work in the western lands. He then heard of Thompson's maps and notes. He began to study them and when he learned that Thompson at seventy years of age had prepared an accurate narrative from his notes he sought that narrative, finally buying it from Mr. Charles Lindsley, who had secured it from Thompson's son. It is this narrative that is now published, the editor declaring: "the present volume, with its wealth of new information about Western America, is issued with the hope that it may assist in confirming David Thompson in his rightful place as one of the greatest geographers of the world."

This splendid volume fully justifies the use of those phrases "wealth of new information" and "one of the greatest geographers." Scholars will henceforth turn to its pages for accurate records of the beginnings of civilized history in large areas of the northwest.

After a number of years in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, Thompson became associated with the North-West Com-

pany and in 1807 he crossed the mountains to the headwaters of the Columbia river and began vigorous work for his company. Continuing this work, he descended the river to its mouth, arriving at the newly built American fort Astoria on July 15, 1811. There he found his old partner, Duncan McDougall, in charge for Astor's Pacific Fur Company. After a few days at Astoria, Thompson ascended the Columbia river and later in the year continued his surveys to the river's source. Editor Tyrrell says: "Portions of this river have never been resurveyed since that time, so that Thompson's surveys still appear on every map of the Columbia river that is published." Thompson returned to Montreal in the summer of 1812 and "never again did he visit the scenes of his western exploits." His great work in the northwest was thus accomplished in five years.

Mr. Elliott's initials "T. C. E." are signed to eighty-seven footnotes, some of them extensive ones. They reveal his familiarity with the ground covered and in each case the note helps the present-day reader to a better understanding of the text. His friends will rejoice to see him thus associated with this important addition to American historical literature.

Historians in Oregon who have frequently discussed the origin of the name of Willamette River will find this paragraph, from page 493, of interest:

"In the afternoon, when the River ran to the WSW a high Mountain, isolated, of a conical form, a mass of pure Snow without the appearance of rock, appeared, which I took to be Mount Hood, and which it was; from the lower part of the River this Mountain is in full view, and with a powerful achromatic Telescope I examined it; when clear, the Snow always appeared as fresh fallen, it stands south of the Columbia River, near the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and from six thousand feet and upwards [is] one immense mass of pure snow; what is below the limit of perpetual Snow, appears to be continually renewed by fresh falls of Snow, its many Streamlets form Rivers, one of which the Wilarmet, a noble River through a fine country falls into the Columbia River."

The date of that entry was July 9, 1811.

This valuable source book will not be very generally accessible in the Pacific Northwest. The Champlain Society's publications go only to members and to subscribing libraries. For a number of years there has been a waiting list of each. In the published list of those fortunate enough to receive the works there is but one member in the

State of Washington—George W. Soliday, of Seattle. Victoria has one member and Vancouver has thirteen members. Among the subscribing libraries, these only are found in the Northwest: Carnegie Library, Vancouver, B. C.; Legislative Library of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.; Public Library, Spokane, Wash,; Public Library, and Library of the University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

EARLY DAYS IN OLD OREGON. By Katharine Berry Judson. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co. 1916. Pp. 263. $1.00.)

This is an attempt to give in the form of episodes a connected history of Old Oregon. The result has been the production of a very readable book, albeit somewhat fragmentary and out of balance. Such a result is scarcely avoidable where topical treatment is adopted. These disconnected chapters are not by any means of equal historical value, and, speaking generally, are taken from the usual and easily accessible authorities. The mysterious ship wrecked upon the Oregon coast in pre-historic days casts the glamour of romance upon the scene of action. The sketches of the work of the early explorers—Cook, Meares, Gray, Lewis & Clark—despite the author's claim of original research are bounded by the four corners of the common sources. The chapters upon the Indian Thief, the Exciting Horse Race, and the Adventures in the Yakima Valley are quite realistic, but are taken from Ross Cox and Alexander Ross, who would hardly recognize the events in their new garb. And why should space be found for these trivial matters when the work of Mackenzie, Fraser, Thompson and Vancouver are practically omitted.

The chapters on Fort Vancouver and John McLoughlin and The Oregon Trail are especially commendable for their combination of accuracy of general outline with a wondrously vivid reproduction of the life of those days. There is a tendency to the romantic and to errors in detail, but these chapters show Miss Judson at her best, and reflect her wide reading and fine appreciation of what may be termed "atmosphere."

The discussion of the Oregon Question, while not nearly as complete and full as could be desired, shows a correct understanding and a broad grasp of the situation. One remarks, however, the absence of reference to the Nootka Convention and only brief mention of the "Joint Occupancy" treaty of 1818, both of which bear most directly upon the subject. Some confusion seems to exist in the mind of the

author; on page 143 we are told that no one owned Oregon; on page 146 the statement is made that Oregon belonged to Great Britain; and on page 154 we find that the United States had the better claim to the Southern portion and Great Britain to the Northern. Miss Judson is quite right in concluding that the real reason of Great Britain's acceptance or offer of 49° was that it was thought the value of the territory did not justify war and all its resultant hatred. Though not citing her authority she doubtless has in mind, *inter alia*, Lord Ashburton's celebrated letter to Mr. Sturgis of April 2nd, 1845.

The real position and conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company in the trying days of the thirties and forties are placed before the reader sympathetically, yet with historical correctness. As the years go by and the mists of misrepresentation are dissipated by historical research the genuine assistance so freely given by that Company through its noble Chief Factor, Doctor McLoughlin, to the early pioneers is becoming more clearly appreciated and understood.

The greater part of the book is stated to be "especially intended for children," but it is questionable whether this can be pleaded as an excuse for the almost babyish language so frequently employed, or for the inelegances which so plentifully abound. Many errors occur, errors which with ordinary care could have been avoided. Captain Cook was not instructed to search for the "River of the West,' (p. 7), his search was to begin only after reaching 65°; he did not name Cape Flattery because he was disappointed (p. 7), but because its appearance had flattered him with the hope of finding a harbor; he did not anchor in Friendly Cove (p. 14), but in Resolution Cove, Blight Island; the name of the strait is not San Juan de Fuca (p. 22) —whatever Fuca may have been he certainly was no saint; when Gray and Vancouver met near the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, Vancouver did not invite Gray to visit him, nor did "the Yankee go aboard the British vessel for a friendly chat" (p. 26), on the contrary, Vancouver sent two of his officers to visit the Columbia; there is no record in Grays' log of his taking possession of the Columbia region (p. 29); the City of Spokane is only nine miles, not forty, from old Spokane House (p. 185); the statements that Olympia was selected as the capital because of its central location and that settlers could get supplies from passing ships (p. 186) scarcely fit with the geographical facts; the City of Walla Walla is not six miles (p. 187), but over thirty miles from the Columbia river; and the slightest local inquiry would have led to the rejection of the story of the cow-hide rails on the railroad built from the Columbia river to Walla Walla.

These are but samples of errors which in some instances give the reader an entirely wrong idea of the actual facts or events.

The appendix contains a brief, well-written and accurate sketch of the history of Old Oregon in which are clearly set out the real situation involved in the sale of the Astor venture, the two sides of the Oregon dispute, and a summary of subsequent events. The principal errors, evidently due to haste, are found on page 238. Ingraham's vessel was the Hope, not the Good Hope. Beach-le-mer is, we suppose, intended for bêche-de-mer, the trepang; Hearn, Frazer and Tatooch Tesse, should be Hearne, Fraser, and Tacoutche Tesse; the mouth of the Fraser River was discovered by Simon Fraser in 1808, not in 1824; the statement of the terms of the Nootka Convention (p. 239) is quite inaccurate and misleading. The volume is well printed, free from typographical errors, and contains about twenty-seven illustrations. It also includes a good bibliography, which is something more instructive than the usual dry list of authorities.

F. W. Howay.

In the Wake of the War Canoe. By the Venerable W. H. Collison, Archdeacon of Metlakahtla. Introduction by the Lord Bishop of Derby. (New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, 1916. Pp. 352. $1.75 net.)

The book has twenty-four illustrations and a map. It is dedicated: "To the Glory of God in the Extension of His Kingdom Everywhere." The work is by, for, and of the missionaries, conveying in the recital much valuable historical information.

No one can mention Metlakahtla on the Pacific Coast without calling to mind William Duncan. On putting this new book to that test it is found that the author deals kindly but briefly with the well known character. On page 23 he tells how the young man was sent by the Church Missionary Society from England "as the messenger of the Gospel of Peace on board a vessel of war," arriving at Esquimalt June 13, 1857. On three other occasions he mentions Duncan's work but does not bring the record down to the more recent troubled days about which no adequate report has yet been given.

There are twenty-seven chapters in the book, giving information about missions up and down the Coast. He mentions two well known men as follows: "The Protestant Episcopal Church of the States, under the able and energetic leadership of Bishop Peter Rowe and Archdeacon Stuck, has been seeking and saving the lost sheep of the Alaskan tribes from Skagway to the Yukon." He rejoices over the

evangelisation of the Indian tribes of the north, concluding as follows:

"And from this commanding and central position where East and West unite, the influence of such a nation, stretching from ocean to ocean of Canada's great Dominion, shall roll in ceaseless waves and currents around the globe, to remind us of the King of Righteousness, whose subjects we are, and of His Kingdom, which shall never pass away nor be destroyed."

A Hundred and Sixty Books by Washington Authors. By Susan Whitcomb Hassell. (Everett, Wash. The Author, 1916. Pp. 40. Paper, 35 cents; cloth, 50 cents.

This is the beginning of a work that needed to be done. Few people have been aware of the amount and variety of literature produced by writers in the State of Washington. This little book will go far toward awakening an interest in such matters that will prove alike helpful to the authors and to newly acquired readers.

The paragraphs have been arranged under these headings: History, Travel and Description, Scientific and Technical, Fiction, Juvenile, Poetry, Unclassified Prose, Other Writers. There follow eight pages of quotations under the title: "Lines Worth Knowing by Heart." There is an index.

The author will undoubtedly soon hear of so many important omissions that a new edition will be called for and that will give an opportunity for many needed improvements. In the first place there should be some order of arrangement, alphabetical, chronological, geographical, or some other scheme. The absence of order seems without defense. The value of the work would have been greatly increased if the names and addresses of the publishers of the books had been given as well as the number of pages in each volume. The bibliographical aids in any up-to-date library would have supplied the information. The absence of such data leaves the work unfinished.

The book has some errors. The very first item says that Emily Inez Denny is the daughter of Arthur A. Denny, which is not true. The most important single item of literature produced in the State of Washington is "The North American Indian," by Edward S. Curtis. It is here given as item Number 41 and seems to be complete in ten volumes. It has been announced so often that the work is to comprise twenty volumes and twenty portfolios that this erroneous statement seems unfortunate in such a list. The Curtis books sell for $3,500.00 a set, which makes the further blunder: "J. Pierpont Mor-

gan subscribed $3,000.00 as an advance guarantee," look ridiculous. Mr. Morgan's subscription was $75,000.00.

These matters are not mentioned in the spirit of fault-finding. Mrs. Hassell will surely find an early opportunity of making use of these suggestions.

Other Books Received

American Jewish Historical Society. Publications, Number 24. New York, The Society, 1916. Pp. 169.)

Bryan, Wilhelmus Bogart. A History of the National Capital, From Its Foundation Through the Period of Adoption of the Organic Act. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916. Vol. II, 1815-1878. Pp. 707. $5.00.)

Columbia Historical Society. Records, Volume 19. (Washington, The Society, 1916. Pp. 234.)

Field Museum of Natural History. Annual Report, 1915. (Chicago, Field Museum, 1916. Pp. 74.)

Illinois State Historical Society. Transactions for the year 1915. (Springfield, The Society, 1916. Pp. 211.)

Kansas State Historical Society. A list of books indispensable to a knowledge of Kansas History and Literature. (Topeka, State Printer, 1916. Pp. 16.)

New Hampshire Historical Society. Manual, 1916. (Concord, The Society, 1916. Pp. 61.)

Rhode Island Historical Society. Museum illustrating the history of the state. (Providence, The Society, 1916. Pp. 32.)

Rhode Island Historical Society. Necrology, 1913-14. (Providence, The Society, 1916. Pp. 12.)

Trowbridge, Mrs. Elford Parry. Connecticut Houses: A list of manuscript histories of early Connecticut Homes. (Hartford, Conneticut State Library, 1916. Pp. 33.)

United States Catholic Historical Society. Historical Records and Studies. Volume IX, June, 1916. (New York, The Society. Pp. 258.)

Washington Irrigation Institute. Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting. (North Yakima, L. L. Lynn, Secretary, 1916. Pp. 243. $1.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Markers for the Oregon Trail

The Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the American Revolution have undertaken to place ten markers on the Oregon Trail in Washington at the following places: Tumwater, Bush Prairie, Tenino, mouth of Skookum Chuck, Chehalis (formerly Saunders Bottom), Jackson Prairie, Toledo (formerly Cowlitz Landing), Olequa, Kelso and Crossing of Lewis River. The first three have been unveiled with appropriate ceremonies.

The first programme was at Tumwater on August 18, at 9:30 a. m. The meeting was called to order by General Hazard Stevens, Chairman of the Oregon Trail Committee of the Sons of the American Revolution. The exercises included the following: Invocation by Hon. P. D. Moore, Chaplain of the Pioneer and Historical Society of Thurston County; Song, "America;" Introduction, by Mrs. J. S. McKee, First Vice-President of the State Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Marking the National Old Trails, by Mrs. Henry McCleary, Chairman of the National Old Trails Committee of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Presentation of the Marker to the State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the State President of the Sons of the American Revolution, by Mrs. Overton Gentry Ellis, Chairman of the Oregon Trail Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Acceptance, by Mrs. Edmund Bowden, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Acceptance, by Mr. Orison J. C. Dutton, State President of the Sons of the American Revolution; Unveiling, by Miss Anne Bayliss, Miss Elizabeth Jaynes, Master Charles Alden Artzel, Master James S. Stanford, Jr.; Address, by Mrs. William Cummings Story, President General of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Presentation of the Marker to the State and to the City of Tumwater, by Mrs. Eliza Ferry Leary; Response for the State, by Governor Ernest Lister; Response for Tumwater, by Mayor O. S. Lee; Song, "Star Spangled Banner."

The second and third unveilings were combined with a celebration of La Fayette's Birthday on September 6. At Tenino, at 2 p. m., Mr. Orison J. C. Dutton, State President of the Sons of the American Revolution, was the presiding chairman. The programme included

the following: Invocation, by Rev. D. E. Ellis; Song, "America;" Presentation of the Marker to the State, by Mrs. Edmund Bowden, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Unveiling, by Miss Jessie Louise Campbell; Response for the State, by Governor Ernest Lister; Response for Tenino, by Mr. J. F. Metzger; Tribute to La Fayette, by Mr. Ernest B. Hussey; Song, "Star Spangled Banner."

At 4 p. m. at Bush Prairie, the presiding chairman was Mrs. Edmund Bowden, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The programme was as follows: Invocation, Hon. P. D. Moore, Chaplain of the Pioneer and Historical Society of Thurston County; Song, "America;" Address and Unveiling, by Miss Anne Gaston; Presentation of the Marker to the State, by Mr. George A. Virtue; Acceptance, by Governor Ernest Lister; Song, "Star Spangled Banner."

The Simmons Monument

In the April number of this Quarterly, pages 136-143 and 178, references were made to the work of the Pioneer and Historical Society of Thurston County in preparing a monument to the memory of Colonel Michael Troutman Simmons and the pioneers who founded at Tumwater in 1845 the first American settlement on Puget Sound. The heavy snows of winter had prevented a completion of the monument in time for the meeting on March 2, but an ample and successful programme was provided for the meeting on July 12, as follows: Song, "Star Spangled Banner;" Invocation, by Hon. P. D. Moore; Address of Welcome, by General Hazard Stevens, President of the Society; Response, by Judge Overton G. Ellis, of the Sons of the American Revolution; Response, by George H. Himes, Secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Society; Basket Dinner in the adjacent park; Address at the Monument, Governor Ernest Lister; First American Settlers, by Professor Edmond S. Meany, President of the Pioneer Association of the State of Washington; Address, by P. M. Troy, Chairman of the Monument Committee; Address, by W. P. Bonney, Secretary of the Washington State Historical Society (which gave the beautiful bronze tablet on the monument); Address, by Mayor C. S. Lee of Tumwater; Unveiling of the Manument, by Mrs. Bertha Simmons Fairson, Miss Mary Bush and Christopher C. Simmons.

The cost of the monument was defrayed by the heirs of the late Leopold F. Schmidt.

To Honor an Indian

Hon. Wesley L. Jones has introduced a bill in the United States Senate to aid in the erection of a monument to Indian Timothy at his grave near Alpowa, Asotin County, Washington. The bill proposes to appropriate $25,000 to the Garfield County Pioneer Association to be expended under certain stipulations. The reasons are given as follows: "To commemorate the services rendered by Indian Timothy in the rescue of the United States troops under Colonel Steptoe in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-eight and his assistance at various times to the white settlers of the Northwest as well as his valuable services to the cause of civilization and Christianity."

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject carefully. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

XX. Washington Since Statehood

1. Period of Extravagance.
   - a. Plunge after long wait for statehood, 1889.
     - i. New institutions established.
     - ii. Clamor of counties for favors.
     - iii. Large appropriations.
     - iv. Frequent deficiency appropriations.
   - b. Large participation in World's Columbian Exposition.
     - i. Valuable results.
     - ii. Heavy expenditures.
   - c. World-wide panic of 1893.
   - d. Governor McGraw's vigorous retrenchments.
   - e. Election of Fusion Party, 1896.

2. Effect of the Klondike.
   - a. Arrival of steamer *Portland* in Seattle, July 17, 1897.
   - b. Sixty miners brought $800,000 in gold dust.
   - c. One of greatest stampedes in history resulted.
   - d. Hard times in Washington vanished in a day.
   - e. Increasing business with Alaska.

3. Spanish-American War.
   - a. Washington's participation.
   - b. Agitation to send more than one regiment.
   - c. Interest awakened in the Orient.

4. Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.
   - a. Held in Seattle in 1909.
   - b. Wonderful progress of the Northwest revealed.
   - c. Permanent improvements saved by the State.

5. Economic Development.
   a. Lumber.
      i. Extensive improvements in methods.
      ii Effects of the tariff changes.
      iii. Prospects of impetus from Panama Canal.
   b. Fish.
      i. Salmon canneries.
      ii. Cold storage shipments.
      iii. Hatcheries.
      iv. Protective laws.
   c. Mines.
      i. Coal.
      ii. Copper.
      iii. Silver and gold.
      iv. Building materials.
   d. Commerce.
      i. With Alaska.
      ii. Throughout Pacific countries.
      iii. Great stimulus from the European war.
      iv. Completion of Lake Washington canal.
   e. Shipbuilding.
      i. Remarkable increase in late years.
   f. Manufactures.
   g. Irrigation.
   h. Agriculture.

6. Political Growth.
   a. Australian ballot.
   b. Direct primaries.
   c. Initiative and referendum.
   d. Recall.
   e. Woman suffrage.

7. Social Improvements.
   a. Increase of churches.
   b. Efficiency of schools.
      i. Washington leads the nation.
   c. Small percentage of illiteracy.
   d. Fostering higher education.
   e. Art and literature.
      i. Small beginnings.
      ii. Rapid growth.

f. Charities being organized.
g. Mothers' pensions.
h. Workingmen's insurance.
i. Prohibition.

8. Federal Activity in the State.
   a. Extent.
      i. From postoffice to specialized bureaus.
      ii. Enormous aggregate of men and money used.
   b. New work added from year to year.
   c. Embodies significant change in government.

Bibliography.—This last installment of the Northwestern History Syllabus is the most difficult one for which to suggest a working bibliography. The time is recent and the materials for study are scattered. There is one big advantage, however, in the element of recent time. Many witnesses of, and participants in, the events are still living. Thy may be interviewed. The studies thus made will be constructive as well as interesting.

Government Reports.—In most large libraries the Public Documents of the Federal Government are available. There are also many Government Reports and pamphlets not always included in the larger series. When these refer to postoffices, light houses, life-saving stations, national forests, assay offices, Indian reservations and the many other forms of Federal activity in the State, it is obvious that some help may be obtained from them in this study. It is slow picking, for in most cases the information is given by district or by project and rarely is it given by States.

Hines, Rev. H. K.—An Illustrated History of the State of Washington, published by The Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1893. In this large book, Chapter XXXIX, pages 279-283, will be found to apply on this particular subject. The chapter is entitled: "Washington at the World's Fair," meaning the World's Columbian Exposition.

Living Participants.—Every community has some men and women who have personal knowledge of the facts of recent State history. Every fact obtained from them and recorded in these studies will have a value for the future workers in the field of State history.

LUHN, ADJUTANT WILLIAM L.—Official History of the Operations of the First Washington Infantry, U. S. V., in the Campaign in the Philippine Islands. There are 117 pages in this record. It appears as an addendum to Karl Irving Faust's "Campaigning in the Philippines," published by The Hicks-Judd Company, San Francisco, 1899. The work is abundantly illustrated. Adjutant Luhn says that through the courtesy of Colonel John H. Wholley he was permitted to use the official records of the regiment in compiling the history.

MEANY, EDMOND S.—Governors of Washington, published by the Printing Department, University of Washington, Seattle, 1915. This little book contains brief biographical sketches of all the governors from the beginning of the Territory to the present time.

MEANY, EDMOND S.—History of the State of Washington. The last chapters of this book deal with the theme of this syllabus. There is probably no other place where there can be found a study of the Federal activity in the State of Washington.

NEWSPAPERS.—Files of newspapers published in this State are saved in most cases and when available for the time covered will be found most useful in such a study.

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